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NEW MASSES

October 16, 1945

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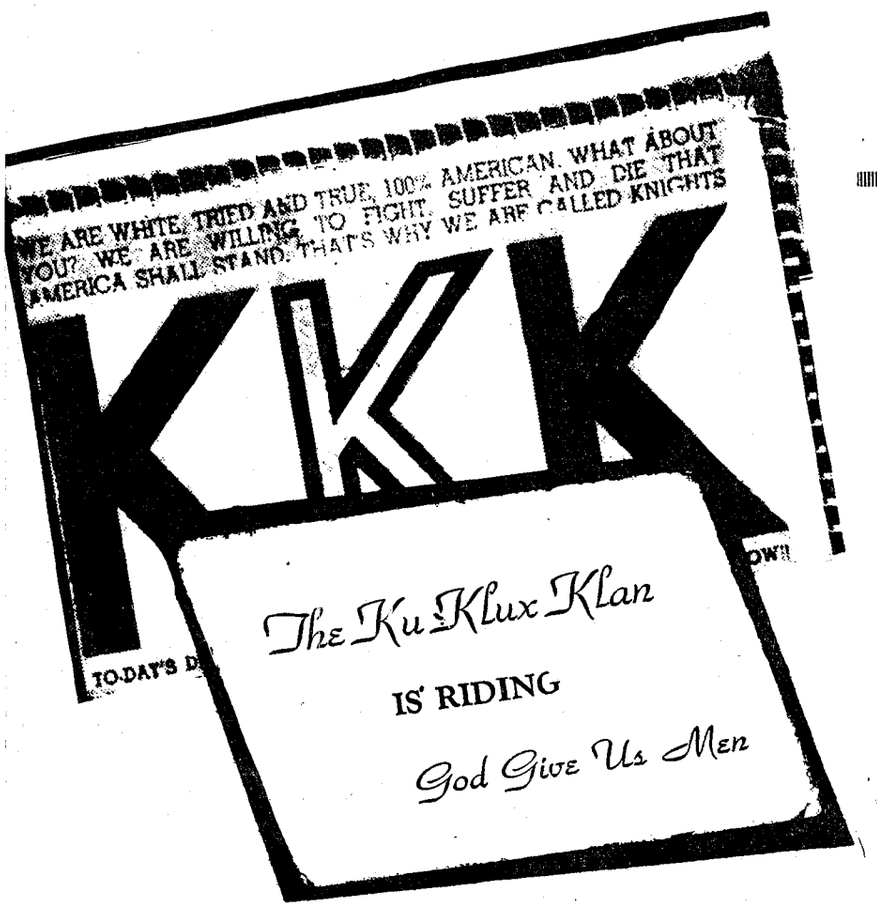
WE ARE WHITE, TRIED AND TRUE, 100% AMERICAN. WHAT ABOUT
YOU? WE ARE WILLING TO FIGHT, SUFFER AND DIE THAT
AMERICA SHALL STAND. THAT'S WHY WE ARE CALLED KNIGHTS
KKK
The Ku Klux Klan
IS RIDING
God Give Us Men

THE KLAN DECLARES WAR

BY HAROLD PREECE

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: The Peace Wreckers, by The Editors; Money for Britain? by Hans Berger; Why the Veterans Feel That Way, by Rev. William H. Melish; Wall Street and Germany's Jews, by Virginia Gardner; Herbert Aptheker reviews Schlesinger's "Age of Jackson."

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

WHEN we read Harold Preece's article on the Ku Klux Klan which appears in this issue, we remembered our first experience with a fiery cross. It happened a good many years ago, in a small midwestern town where the Klan was pursuing the Catholics. On a Saturday night, driving home from the neighboring village after a marketing jaunt, we saw the burning cross, and excited, asked what it was. The man with whom we were riding explained that it was the KKK. We didn't really understand. Quarter of a mile further along, several sheeted figures stepped out in front of the car—for no apparent reason. "Who goes there?" they asked. We recognized the spokesman's voice, awed as we were, and said, "Hello, Mr. Brown." Mr. Brown waved us on, and for the rest of the journey home we annoyed our driver with the relentless questions of a twelve-year-old. Why was Mr. Brown wearing a bedsheet? Why was a cross set on fire? Mr. Sharp, the driver, was nervous. He tried to explain that Catholics were not people and should be driven out of the community. That was hard for our immature minds to grasp: what had the Catholics done, and *why* did Mr. Brown wear a bedsheet, when everybody knew him anyhow?

That was a long time ago, and we had pretty thoroughly forgotten about it. Reading NM's current series called it back to mind, and our more mature age—we hope—brought home our adolescent lack of understanding. It was not too long after seeing that flare atop one of northwest Iowa's small hills that we gave Mr. Brown and his bedsheet considerable thought, along with the Catholics and other minority groups who were among the game that the Klan, then as now, considered its special target. Some years later, with the second world war over and done with, the Klan reappears—this time virtually unmasked—with its objectives uncamouflaged and plain. White supremacy means anti-Semitism, they say. Negroes have to be kept "in their places"; meaning: housing no better than hutches, no jobs beyond the scrubbing of floors for white folks—life which is existence and not living.

If you doubt that these things are planned, that they are supported by tycoons of industry who do not actually appear in robes, but who stage and produce this kind of fantastic melodrama behind the scenes, read about their plan of action in this issue of NM. If you have never yet seen a cross on fire in someone's front yard, believe us, you will—unless you act immediately on the facts you read in Mr. Preece's article. It is significant that not once has the Rankin Un-American Committee called in one of the leading figures in the Klan movement.

EVERYBODY is busy with the election campaign. Many a tired progressive finds himself saying—to himself at least—"For God's sake, can't I just go home to bed, or something?" We offer you the something. On October 12, at 8:30 P.M. on Columbus Day, come to Manhattan Center, and listen to a good evening. NEW MASSES is proud of John Reed, one of the magazine's first editors, and it will honor him in an event different from others of the past few years. John Stuart said in last week's issue that "John Reed's life wrote itself." Because of that, we have planned no ordinary program. The man's life speaks in a dramatic review which will be presented by prominent figures in stage, screen and radio. Give yourselves a rest from speeches; listen to the story of John Reed, who more than you know was responsible for the very work you are doing now. See page 31 for further details.

IT HAPPENED in the case of libraries—that response we so needed and wanted. Subscribers wrote and gave; and if you think it's not further needed, listen to this: From the main branch of the New York Public Library, the Chief of the Acquisition Division says: "Will you send us Vol. 56, Nos. 1-13 (July-September, 1945).... These extra copies are needed because those we now have are too badly worn to be fit for binding."

There's nothing more to be added. If NM is in that kind of demand, in any library, anywhere, the prescription writes itself.

M. DE A.

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ESTABLISHED 1911

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NEW MASSES
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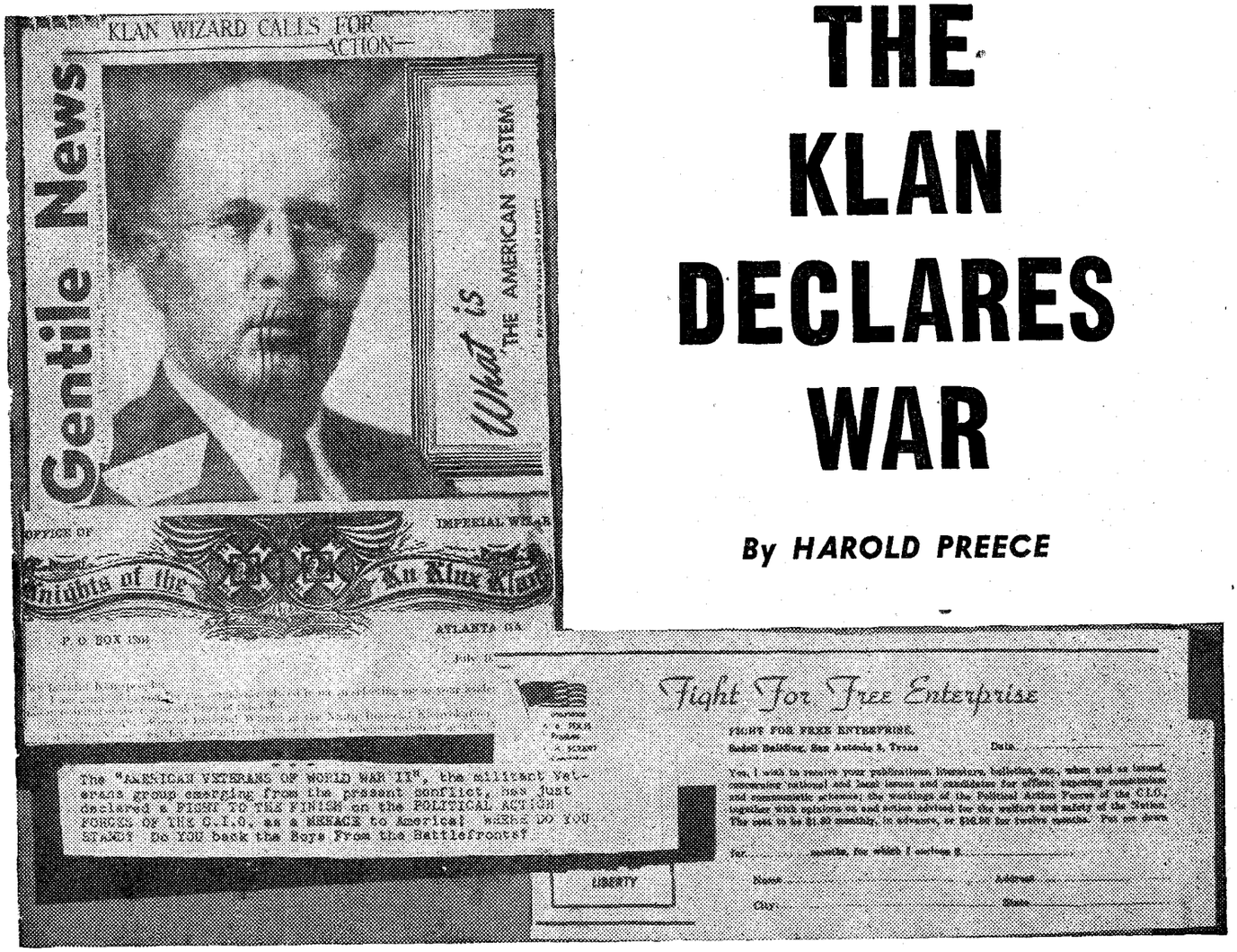
THE KLAN DECLARES WAR

By HAROLD PREECE



Chattanooga, Tenn.

Outbreaks of anti-Negro violence in schools in Gary, Ind., Chicago and Harlem once more focus attention on the continued immunity enjoyed by fascist groups and individuals who directly or indirectly incite these outbreaks. In this issue NEW MASSES *begins the first of a series of articles exposing some of the major members of the fascist front that is operating with big business money and using race hate as part of a nationwide plot to divide and conquer.*

Through an error our announcement of this series on the back cover of last week's issue listed Dorothy Roberts as the author of the entire series. The first article on the Ku Klux Klan however, is the work of Harold Preece, well known Southern jorunalist, who has appeared in these pages before.—The Editors.

"THERE will be a revolution of the Left or the Right. I favor the Right. I want the Ku Klux Klan to win that revolution."

Jesse B. Stoner, organizer and Kleagle of the KKK "Realm of Tennessee," is no fatalist about this business of "revolution" which he is paid to promote. He doesn't believe that things just happen because church fathers of the Nazi cult have charted to the day and minute the time when "declining" democratic civilization will topple over in a bonfire of burnt books and burnt Jews. With lots of money to spend, he has demonstrated his belief in that "revolution" of the Right by organizing two Klan branches of future storm troopers, burning fiery crosses before they burn books and Jews (along with Negroes and "Communists") on Tennessee streets.

For Kleagle Stoner, now crowding his middle thirties, is a man of action even if he's a little fellow standing not more than five feet and a half in his silk socks. Like Herr Goebbels, he has a game leg and hops around when he interviews prospective Klan recruits in his comfortable apartment at 419 High Street. But his egg-shaped Prussian-like head, set off by a very short Prussian-style haircut, is nimble even if his feet are not. The ideas which sprout in that "Aryan" skull are ideas of action, and he doesn't mind using any blond Southerner who comes along as a sounding board for them.

The Klan, he tells candidates for admission into "the Invisible Empire," is due to "reach its peak" in this period when jobless veterans and laid-off war workers are returning to their home

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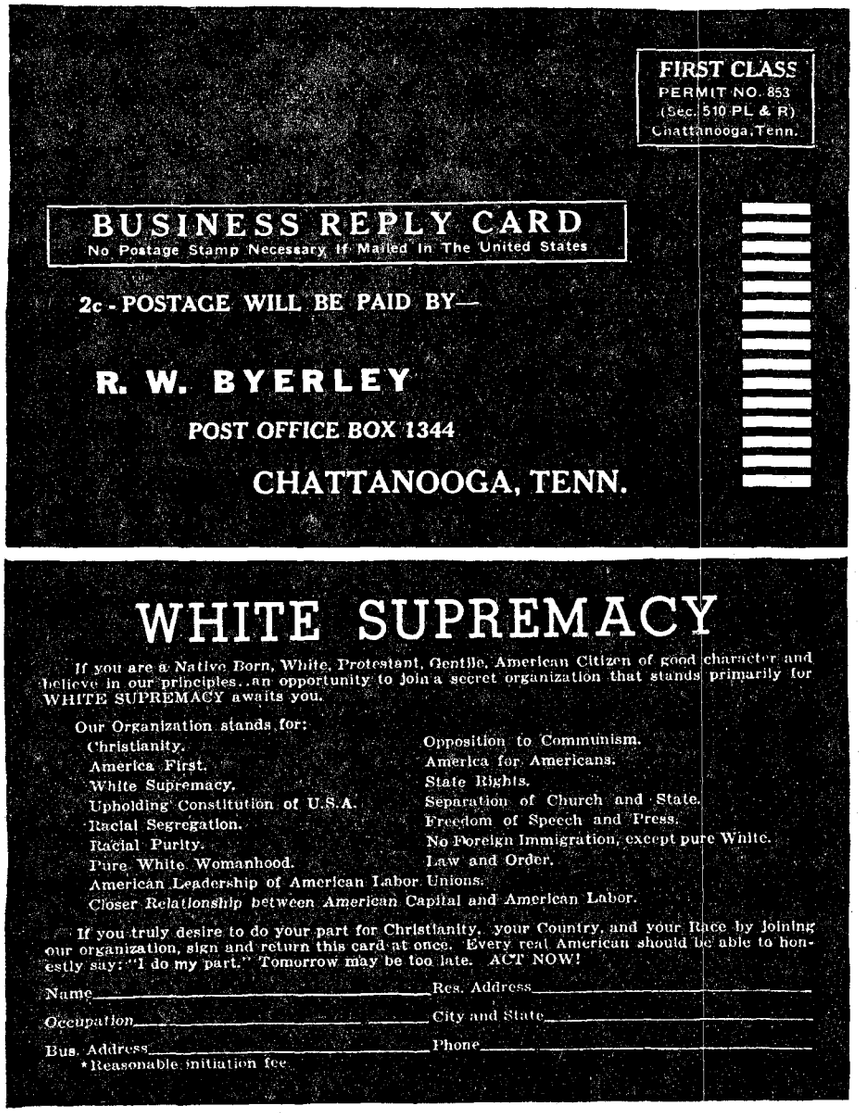

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WHITE SUPREMACY

If you are a Native Born, White, Protestant, Gentile, American Citizen of good character and believe in our principles..an opportunity to join a secret organization that stands primarily for WHITE SUPREMACY awaits you.

Our Organization stands for:

Christianity.
America First.
White Supremacy.
Upholding Constitution of U.S.A.
Racial Segregation.
Racial Purity.
Pure White Womanhood.
American Leadership of American Labor Unions.
Closer Relationship between American Capital and American Labor.
Opposition to Communism.
America for Americans.
State Rights.
Separation of Church and State.
Freedom of Speech and Press.
No Foreign Immigration, except pure White.
Law and Order.

If you truly desire to do your part for Christianity, your Country, and your Race by joining our organization, sign and return this card at once. Every real American should be able to honestly say: "I do my part." Tomorrow may be too late. ACT NOW!

Name_____ Res. Address_____

Occupation_____ City and State_____

Bus. Address_____ Phone_____

*Reasonable initiation fee

The Ku Klux Klan is not only using the mails to spread the fascist creed of race hate and Red-baiting, but is doing it in postcard form under a US government permit. Above are the two sides of the postcard being used in Chattanooga. What about this, Attorney General Clark and Postmaster General Hannegan?

communities looking for any kind of employment. "The conflict," he declared recently in a private conversation, recorded in a sworn affidavit in my possession, "will come when Negroes, who have gotten jobs because of the war and the FEPC, won't give up those jobs."

"Anti-Semitism and white supremacy go hand in hand," he stated. "A politican who doesn't believe in white supremacy can't get very far now. Anti-Semitism is stronger than ever before. Since the war, thousands of small businessmen have failed. That has helped the Jew."

In a Klan meeting held at 906½ Market Street, Chattanooga, while the war was still on, the Kleagle belched fire and revealed how the Klan program of terrorism would operate in the critical postwar period. He asked a new member, Charles Bunch, then employed as a bottler in the Chattanooga Coca Cola plant, to stand up and take the oath of initiation. "Mr. Bunch is going into the Army soon," he told the gathering. "But he'll be learning to fight, and we can use him against the n———rs when he gets back. All over the country, Klansmen are going into the Army and we'll use them when they get out."

Now, Kleagle Stoner probably won't remember me. There is nothing in my features to set me off from the general type of blue-eyed, mixed Anglo-Saxon-Scotch-Irish Southerner whose people have farmed and feuded and preached and made moonshine down here for the last 300 years. But he will not dare deny the facts that I have uncovered about him and that great-granddaddy of all native fascist organizations, Ku Klux Klan.

The Atlanta *Journal* of June 3, 1944, quoted KKK Imperial Wizard James A. Colescott as saying that the Klan's constitutional laws had been "suspended" on April 23 of that year, that each "local" den had had its charter lifted and would from that time function on an independent basis. Colescott had thrown in the usual touch of secrecy saying that the reasons for the disbanding were not "a subject for discussion outside the Klan." But he told the Georgia paper, "This does not mean that the Klan is dead. We have authority to meet and reincarnate at any time."

Then the June 1944, issue of the *Southern Patriot*, published in Nashville by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, published an extract of a letter sent by the Imperial Wizard a few weeks before to Stetson Kennedy, noted Southern writer. The letter, written as a statement for Kennedy's forthcoming book, *The Four Freedoms in the South*, declared flatly: "The Klan did not dissolve nor has it assumed any new name. This can be verified by writing the Fulton County [Georgia] Court as the charter [meaning the national charter] is still here in existence. I might add we have no intention of dissolving the Klan."

I can now reveal that the Klan added income tax dodging to its other crimes when it fooled even the New York *Herald Tribune* into believing that it had died a natural death in the face of changing events.

"Previous administrations did not ask the Klan for taxes," Stoner admitted privately before President Roosevelt's death. "The Roosevelt administration does ask for taxes—more than the Klan can afford to pay. So it disbanded until a deal could be made. Probably, we'll have to give all the money in the treasury in exchange for a clean slate. Then we can start all over again. Meanwhile, the state and local branches will continue to function under the new name."

But all of this has to be taken with a big dose of salt. Probably the Klan minded less the payment of corporation taxes than the filling out of income tax forms, which would have forced the organization to disclose the names of its contributors.

When I began my investigation of the Klan under strict instructions from the NEW MASSES editorial board to "dig out everything, no matter how long it takes," I had the feeling that the Klan had also "suspended" in order to give its local "dens" greater leeway in their communities without involving the na-

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tional organization. I had a hunch, too, that the Klan, as the oldest and most mature of American fascist organizations, took this step in order that its members might be free to go into other subversive groups and give them leadership. Moreover, I had heard from inside sources in the fifth-column underworld that the Klan was trying to weld the scores of rival fascist cliques into a strong, closely-knit united movement ready to head off the coming new world with whips and tarbuckets.

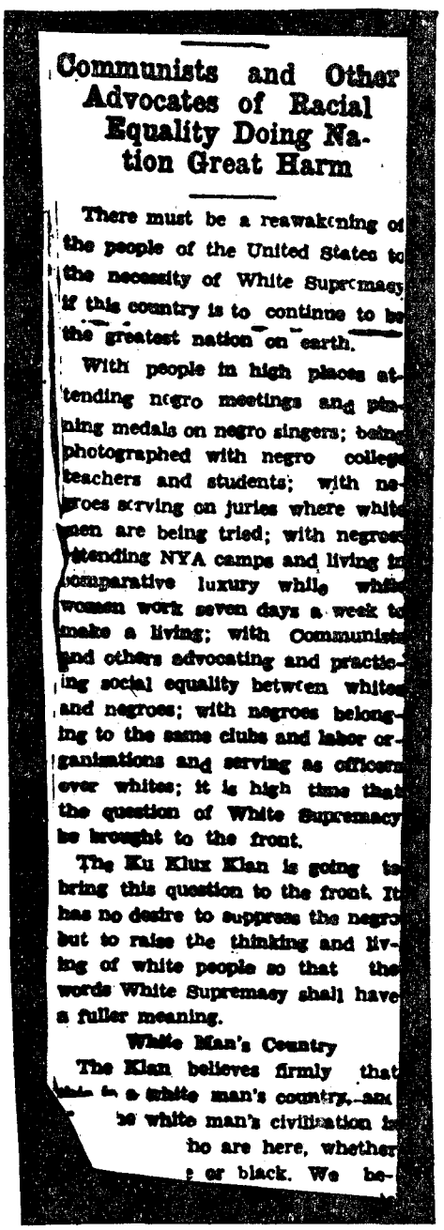
THE Klan headquarters were locked tight in Atlanta and the Klan national officials were not to be found in the Georgia capital when I went down there looking for them. But somewhere in this South whose rulers had incubated the Klan, as they had incubated Jim Crow, I felt that I would find the organization's new concentration center.

It was on a hunch that I started turning up haystacks in Tennessee. Here, in this state, the first Ku Klux Klan had been born in 1865 as the counterrevolutionary force of the dispossessed slave owners to crush the new Reconstruction democracies built by black men and white men. My grandmother had grown up in Pulaski, Tennessee, where the first Klan "den" had been organized by ex-Confederate officers.

When I started checking on the Klan, I was living near Chattanooga, a city barely in Tennessee. A small stretch of highway separates Chattanooga from its suburb of Rossville, Georgia. Atlanta is less than 150 miles away. During World War II, Chattanooga became one of the South's major war production centers, turning out everything from TNT to bolts and screws.

I spent long evenings in the dives on Chattanooga's East Main Street, drinking beer with tough bullies who swore that "n———rs and Jews was both dogs and ought to be made to mate up together like dogs." I went to churches where robed and masked Klansmen had marched in to hand donations after World War I and then marched out while the choirs sang, "Onward, Christian Soldiers." Then one day I went into a Chattanooga cafe called Harry's Steak House and ordered lunch at the counter. Another customer seated himself at the next stool, made some remark, and started a conversation in the informal manner of the South. After telling me that he had a job at the Tennessee Volunteer Ordnance Works —one of the city's big defense plants— he started on a tirade. He cursed "the damn dagoes who had come into town since the war and moved into the same apartment houses with white people." He cursed "the kikes" who he said "were staying home getting rich while white boys were out shedding their blood." He damned "the n———rs for getting out of their place" and said that "a lot of white men like me will see that they go back to their place after the war."

That man was Thomas Bagwell, a construction foreman who lived at 303 East Fifth Street, Chattanooga, and who died recently. At a Klan meeting held at 1416½ Dodds Avenue, on the night of Dec. 12, 1944 Bagwell was one of those who heaped praise on a mob



Communists and Other Advocates of Racial Equality Doing Nation Great Harm

There must be a reawakening of the people of the United States to the necessity of White Supremacy if this country is to continue to be the greatest nation on earth.

With people in high places attending negro meetings and pinning medals on negro singers; being photographed with negro college teachers and students; with negroes serving on juries where white men are being tried; with negroes attending NYA camps and living in comparative luxury while white women work seven days a week to make a living; with Communists and others advocating and practicing social equality between whites and negroes; with negroes belonging to the same clubs and labor organizations and serving as officers over whites; it is high time that the question of White Supremacy be brought to the front.

The Ku Klux Klan is going to bring this question to the front. It has no desire to suppress the negro but to raise the thinking and living of white people so that the words White Supremacy shall have a fuller meaning.

White Man's Country

The Klan believes firmly that this is a white man's country, and the white man's civilization is for those who are here, whether white or black. We be-

This sample of the argument put forward by Ku Kluxers baldly declares that they are the militant enemies of all progressive forces.

which had just lynched a young Negro inmate of the Pikeville, Tennessee, state reformatory. "There's only one n——r in my gang," Bagwell boasted, "and I make him do work that I wouldn't have a white man do."

A few days after my talk with Bagwell, I found in my postoffice box an envelope addressed to the name which I had given to the talkative Klansman. The return address on the envelope was "J. B. Stoner, Chattanooga," and the inside section had been rubber-stamped twice with the words, "Ku Klux Klan." On the inside of the envelope, I found a printed business reply postcard addressed to "R. W. Byerly," at Postoffice Box 1344. I flipped over the card and read on the reverse side:

WHITE SUPREMACY

If you are a Native Born, White, Protestant, Gentile, American Citizen of good character and believe in our principles, an opportunity to join a secret organization that stands primarily for white supremacy awaits you.

Our Organization stands for:

- Christianity.
- America First.
- White Supremacy.
- Upholding Constitution of USA.
- Racial Segregation.
- Racial Purity.
- Pure White Womanhood.
- American Leadership of American Labor Unions.
- Closer Relationship between American Capital and American Labor.
- Opposition to Communism.
- America for Americanism.
- States Rights.
- Separation of Church and State.
- Freedom of Speech and Press.
- No Foreign Immigration, except Pure White.
- Law and Order.

The card had blank lines at the bottom for the name, occupation, business address, residence number, and telephone number of the receiver. One line indicated with an asterisk read, "Reasonable initiation fee."

I began looking into the matter further. I discovered that "Byerly" is never in town to interview prospects who take seriously his plea, "If you truly desire to do your part for Christianity, your Country, and your Race by joining our organization, sign and return this card at once." Stoner picks up all mail for Box 1344. A sucker who bites receives a telephone call or a note from Stoner asking him to come out to his apartment for an interview. Stoner then sizes up the prospective recruit for any trace of "Jewish blood" while carry-

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ing on a glib conversation with him about "patriotism," "Christianity," and "the revolution of the Right."

One prospect wanted to know where Stoner had got his name and address. "From a city directory," Stoner replied. "I don't have to worry about n———rs getting invitations because all n———rs' names in the directory have a little 'c' [meaning colored] after them. Besides I know the city pretty well, and I don't send out cards to an address in a n———r section. Jews are, of course, eliminated by their names. But I have to take a chance on Catholics. Some Catholics like our organization and would like to join it. If I wanted to take the time, I could get a Catholic who knew his people to pick out Catholic names. Police Judge Martin Fleming and Attorney General Fletcher Morgan are Catholics."

The Ku Klux Klan, once violently anti-Catholic, as it is still violently anti-Jewish and anti-Negro, permits only native-born Protestants to don its bedsheets. But it has since softened its "anti-Romish" line with the result that in the past few years it has lost many members and has been rocked by several secession movements of ultra-fundamentalist Protestant members. Imperial Wizard Colescott has even been accused by the professional Catholic baiters in his ranks of being "A tool of Rome." Without casting any reflection on that great majority of American Catholics loyal to democratic institutions, it can be said that the Klan has worked closely in the North and Midwest with Coughlinite outfits such as the Christian Front.

Stoner follows the "soft" line toward Catholics, but lets loose on Jews and Negroes when he talks with prospects. Like a cat watching a mouse, he is careful of observe the reactions of his visitors to this baiting of two minorities which have traditionally "been on the spot" in Dixie. "Hitler was too easy on the Jews," he tells prospects. "He let too many get away. I would let all Jews who become Christians leave the country." This remark is intended to imply that those American Jews who adhere to their faith should be massacred.

"All Jews are Communists," Stoner tells his visitors. "The people tried for sedition in Washington were good, patriotic Americans who oppose Jews and Communists. The Jew Deal Communists are trying to get them."

IF THE prospect passes Stoner's inspection, he is invited to join the Klan. The recruit gives Stoner ten dollars and the Kleagle issues a receipt which shows the headquarters address of the Klan to be P.O. Box 1204, Atlanta, although the organization is no longer supposed to be functioning in that city. Stoner tells the recruit that the membership committee will pass in his application and that he will be notified of his acceptance or rejection. Then the applicant is given to read, as preparation for active membership, literature like Gerald L. K. Smith's sheet, *The Cross and the Flag;* indicted seditionist Elizabeth Dilling's *Patriotic Research Bulletin* and Col. E. N. Sanctuary's (another indicted seditionist) vile attack on the Jewish religion, *The Talmud Unmasked*. Supplemental reading recommended by Stoner includes *Bible News Flashes*, a sheet which distorts Bible prophecy to predict a holy war of the "Christian" nations against Russia; *Truth and Liberty*, published by another preacher, Rev. C. O. Stadsklev, a gentleman of Slavic descent who nevertheless believes that the "Anglo-Saxons" and not the Jews are "the chosen Israelite race" of the Bible; and various other fifth-column hate sheets. Stoner laughingly tells prospects that he reads the Bible and Jewish-American magazines for sources of anti-Semitic propaganda; Negro newspapers like the Pittsburgh *Courier* for material to use against America's 13,000,000 colored citizens.

New recruits have their past lives and their associations carefully checked by the local Klan membership committee while "preparing" themselves to be good knights of the bedsheet. One of the members of this investigating committee until his death a short time ago was Horace Humphries, who ran a flower shop at 4200 Tennessee Avenue. Other leading Klansmen in the Chattanooga area, according to a partial membership list in my possession are:

JESSE WALKER, Exalted Cyclops (or local president) and chute operator of the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway. Walker is said to be related by marriage to the "R. W. Byerly" who is "always out of town." The relationship may be much closer since "R. W. Byerly" might be Walker's sister, Mrs. Ruby Walker Byerly, who lives with him at 3208 Montview Drive. James H. Byerly, husband of the lady whose initials and name tally so well with those on the sucker card, was serving in the Army when this investigation was made.

DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER!

At a Klan meeting on February 13, Walker attacked the Fair Employment Practices Committee saying that "white supremacy" was being endangered by the efforts of the FEPC to abolish discrimination in employment.

W. PAUL LONG, an old-time Klansman who had to resign as "cyclops" because of bad health. Long was appointed by Stoner along with eleven other officers constituting an "executive board" at the September 12 meeting. Under the Klan "military discipline" stressed in the official rule book, the "Kloran," all authority stems from the top, as was the case in the Klan-allied organization, the German-American Bund. The Imperial Wizard, like the Bundesfuehrer, appoints state and regional officers. They in turn appoint the officers of the local "dens."

W. A. BURGISS, 2316 Glass Street, machine helper, Southern Railway, and doorkeeper of the local "den." Burgiss boasted at the February 13 session that "white supremacy" was upheld in his shop.

A man named STEGALL, 1704 E. 13th St., clerk in the Broadway grocery, 2521 Broad St., an old-time kluxer now serving as "kludd" or chaplain of the local den. Stegall opens each meeting with a long-winded, sanctimonious prayer.

CHARLES BEALL, "klokard" or "lecturer." Beall seems to have neither a fixed occupation nor a fixed residence. Those who know him tell me that he is all too typical of those psychopathic vagrants with some education whom Hitler picked up to barnstorm on street corners for the Nazi "New Order." At each Klan meeting, Beall digests the latest issues of fifth-column hate sheets for his brother-hoodlums. His lectures are sandwiched with choice quotations from books like the *Talmud Unmasked* and Machiavelli's guide to chicanery, *The Prince*. Sometimes, he lifts bits about "the international bankers" from John L. Lewis' official organ, the United Mine Workers *Journal*.

When the Klan assembled for its first meeting following the death of President Roosevelt, Beall read mockingly from the Pittsburgh *Courier* tributes of sorrow from leading Negro citizens. His voice rose to a screaming crescendo when he yelled: "The Jew Deal died with the Jew Rosenfeld. And plenty

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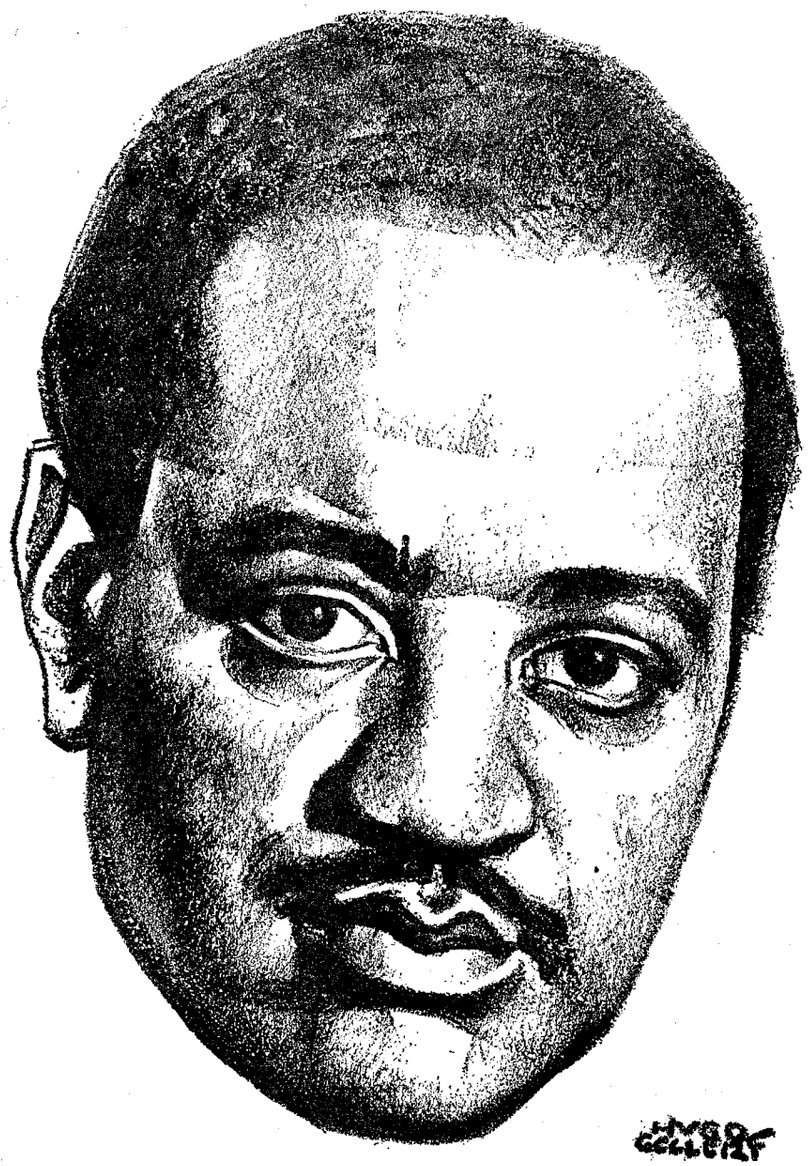

Benjamin Davis, Jr., drawn for *New Masses* by Hugo Gellert. Davis, Communist candidate for reelection to the New York City Council, has been endorsed by the Greater New York CIO Industrial Union Council, the American Labor Party and many other forward-looking groups. A nationally known leader of the Negro people, Davis has been acclaimed by Negro papers throughout the country for his recent challenging of Negro-baiting, anti-Semitic Representative Rankin at a hearing of the new Rankin-dominated House Committee on un-American Activities.

more Jews and n———-rs are going to follow him down into hell."

H. A. BUICE, Maryville, Tenn., leader of the Klan in East Tennessee, operator of a small foundry. Buice officiated at initiation ceremonies of the Chattanooga Klan several months ago. Before obligating the new members, he made a speech, expressing the wish that the Klan would soon control Chattanooga "racially and politically." Buice has his own political ambitions, and hopes that a postwar wave of racism will wash him into Congress—as the Klan in 1922 sent Earle B. Mayfield to the US Senate from Texas and was instrumental in electing Klansmen to federal and state offices throughout the South and Midwest.

TO DATE, the present Klan organization in Chattanooga has not actually perpetrated any of the atrocities which have made the organization infamous in other parts of the country. But it does serve as a traitors' club where desperate men are instructed in overt acts which serve the interests of reactionary big business. The Klan is waiting in Chattanooga—waiting for the day when it hopes to help stir up a fascist insurrection like that of Franco's "revolution of the Right" in Spain—and to turn America into a second Spain. Stoner pooh-poohs the idea of FBI interference in his plotting, saying that "the local Klansmen have nothing to worry about."

It might be pointed out that the FBI has spent much time heckling and harassing Tennessee labor organizers, but has let the Ku Klux Klan carry on direct mail and newspaper campaigns for members without asking any troublesome questions. It remains to be seen whether the new Attorney General, Tom Clark, a Southerner from the old Klan stronghold of Texas, will point the noses of his bloodhounds in the right direction.

Nor have the local police, creatures of a corrupt Dixie political machine, bothered to call on Mr. Stoner at his hospitable apartment or to question his activities in their town. For Dixie cops are generally friendly to Dixie kluxers. During the worst days of Klan mobbings and murders, thousands of elected and appointed Dixie police officers sat in Klan meetings with their fellow-members—the leading town merchants, some of the leading town preachers, and the leading town bootleggers. If the South's sheriffs and policemen are the legal arm of its barbarous and semi-fascist social order, then the Klan is its extra-legal arm. The two arms work together to flog the life out of the South's people.

They are getting the ropes ready for the floggings and the guns ready for the killings—"the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" down here in Tennessee—where the highest rate of tuberculosis in the nation parallels the highest rate of illiteracy in the nation. They are hoping to turn the clock back to 1865 when the Klan accounted for its first victims. They are hoping to crush the South's great new trade union movement and the new interracial organizations like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Last year they were burning their fiery crosses on the outskirts of the city. Now, without interference from the police, they are burning them on busy corners in the heart of the city. They are stencilling public buildings with inscriptions in red colored letters reading "Ku Klux Klan."

What will Attorney General Clark do about it?

Next week Dorothy Roberts will reveal the inside story of a convention of fifth-column groups which she attended in Detroit, at which plans were made to coordinate their plottings on a national scale.

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HIT AND RUN

By THE EDITORS

AMERICA'S economic royalists fired some heavy broadsides this week in their Battle for the Middle Class. General Motors paid handsomely for full page advertisements in leading American newspapers to cozen "the public" to their side in the current wage struggles. Written with all the aplomb and gloss that fabulous profit can buy, they conjured up a Walpurgis night of terrors, blaming them all on—guess who? That haggard man on the assembly line—labor.

According to General Motors, labor, greedy and grasping, was delaying reconversion, threatening inflation, robbing you of washing machines, pots, pans, radios, and everything else you wanted and couldn't get during the war. But the auto magnates, knights in shining nickel, were interested in the good of America, nothing more. With billions salted away in hidden profits, General Motors has the infinite gall to tell the public: "During the war, victory was our business." Gone was all talk of the heroes of production; the men on the assembly line had, overnight, turned into the saboteurs of our national well-being.

Meanwhile, the lords of the press played up labor strikes in the type reserved, a few weeks back, for major battles. Plenty of space was taken, but little truth told. For example, one would have had to go through the long stories in, say, the New York *Times* or *Herald Tribune,* with a fine-tooth comb to learn that the oil magnates—blood brothers of General Motors—were the ones who refused to accept the government's proposals to settle the differences in that industry. The oil union (CIO) was willing to agree to Secretary Schwellenbach's proposal that the company's offer of a fifteen percent increase be accepted and that the rest be left to arbitration. (The union demanded a thirty percent raise.) The oil interests indicated they would prefer to let the issue be settled by strike than by compromise. But in all the stories you read throughout the country, the truth lagged in the telling—the monopolists of the press protected the monopolists of oil. And so, generally, it was in all the other strikes, in New York traction, in the longshoremen's strike, the bakery deliverers' strike, etc., etc.

Behind all this is a basic reality: big business is out to prejudice the middle classes, the returning veterans and the workers already laid off (and eager for reconversion to peacetime production) against organized labor. Truth is that labor's battle is America's battle—if take-home pay is cut by thirty percent and more, due to the cessation of overtime, spending power would be cut to such levels that our entire industrial mechanism would slow down to a grinding halt that would disastrously affect every storekeeper, doctor, teacher, insurance agent, and every other category of the middle class and white collar wage-earner. And the present unemployed would walk the streets many more bitter days.

LABOR'S fight is every man's fight (with the exception of the industrial nabobs). Immediate recognition of that fact on the part of the middle classes is imperative. Labor has a great responsibility—to itself and to its allies—to blaze that truth throughout America so that it can swing all democratic, progressive elements in our population, unitedly, against the wage-cutting, union-smashing aspirations of the powerful corporations. America must learn it is big business that is on a sit-down strike against reconversion, holding out for higher prices. How else would you interpret its bitter opposition to what remains of OPA, to all controls on its unbridled appetite for profit? *Big business* is the culprit, and labor must take the initiative to bring that fact before the people.

NEW MASSES is well aware of labor's multitude of responsibilities, but we believe the Battle for the Middle Class is a central issue, and can be ignored only at the risk of national calamity. We believe that labor's allies, Citizens' PAC, and other such groups, must immediately join this battle: their welfare, too, is at stake. The trade unions must utilize every measure—particularly that of *political action*—to gain the day. Every avenue of public expression must be explored. We would like to see labor and its allies raise the wherewithal to buy advertising space in the press to counter General Motors demagogy. We would like to see all-community action to bolster labor in its aspirations. We know that it is happening here and there throughout the land: the traction strike of Lancaster had the organized, active support of the community—church, civic organizations, etc. Middle class organizations joined with labor to combat the scandalous events in the Gary, Ind., schools which threatened to explode into race riots. (And facts are abundant that the steel trust was behind the strife there. Though these are heartening instances of labor-middle-class unity, they must be organized, made nationwide. Unity is the watchword of our time—democratic unity. NEW MASSES pledges every resource it possesses to help create that unity. We know that is how our readers feel, and we trust them to do their bit in their communities toward that end.

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MONEY FOR BRITAIN?

By HANS BERGER

THERE is no doubt but that the current negotiations between the United States and Great Britain on a loan or a grant of billions of dollars to London is of the greatest national and international importance. It was with considerable interest, therefore, that I read Virginia Gardner's article "High-hatting the British" in the September 25 issue of NEW MASSES and I was particularly struck by the following sentences in it: "The Wall Street crowd, interestingly enough, favors giving Britain a grant. These are the same gentlemen who opposed so strenuously, and yet with such subtlety, the Bretton Woods proposal for the International Bank and Stabilization Fund. This does not mean that there are not some among them, I am informed, who want to kick England in the face now that she is down (economically)."

After thinking about that I came to the conclusion that not even the wildest outbursts of the anti-Britishers in Congress against every loan for "financing British socialism" should lead us into the trap of British imperialist propaganda or cause us to look at Anglo-American financial negotiations in an oversimplified way. After all, the United States and Great Britain are the two biggest imperialist world powers, and if the representatives of their governments come together to negotiate loans it of necessity involves the present foreign policies of both these powers.

We can be sure that Mr. Keynes, the British financial expert, and Lord Halifax, the former viceroy of India, one of the British political figures who throttled Republican Spain and who was also Neville Chamberlain's foreign minister—both of them do not for one moment forget world politics while they are negotiating the loans. And the same is, of course, true of the Americans who are sitting on the other side of the table.

Everybody knows that foreign loans are the instruments of foreign policy and foreign policy is the instrument of loans whether they are extended to Ethiopia, to Arabian royalty, whether they are private, semi-private or official in character. This should never be forgotten in talking about Anglo-American loans.

To oppose strenuously the attempts of certain reactionaries to fight Great Britain because of her Labor government and especially because of her advancing labor movement does not, on the other hand, mean overlooking the fact that Great Britain not only remains an imperialist country but that, above all, the foreign policy of the Labor government follows the pattern of the foreign policy of the British Tories, who can, even though they were defeated in the elections, be quite satisfied with Mr. Attlee's and Mr. Bevin's foreign policy.

What characterizes the present policy of the British Labor government? The first important observation to be made is that it is a policy hostile towards the Soviet Union, to the genuinely democratic countries of Europe and to Europe's progressive movements. This policy encourages everywhere anything that is reactionary, pro-fascist, unfriendly to the USSR, and inimical to the democratic processes of the Continent proper. Who can deny that the attitude of Bevin towards the Balkans, Austria, Greece, Italy and even towards Franco Spain pursues the same line prescribed by Churchill and Eden? There is only one new twist in Bevin's policy: namely, the misuse of the prestige of the British Labor Party for the purpose of hampering the unification of the European labor movements as is proved by Prof. Harold Laski's articles and his speeches in France and Scandinavia.

The present foreign policy of the British Labor government works in the direction of organizing a western bloc and tries primarily to use American imperialism against the Soviet Union. This balance of power politics is a repetition of the pre-war policy of the British Tories —a policy never seriously fought by the Labor Party leaders—adapted to new postwar conditions and to the new relations of forces. After World War I, the British Tories tried to play German imperialism and Hitler Germany against the USSR in order to be top dog. This policy, despite having proved itself bankrupt—the British themselves have paid a terrible price for it—is now being revived in an attempt to play the most powerful imperialist nation in the world —the United States—against the Soviet Union in order again to establish Britain as top dog and to strengthen weakened British imperialism. And this is done at the expense of the United States and the USSR by fishing in muddy waters.

Eugene Karlin

THE present policy of British imperialism carried through by the British Labor government, tries to cash in on loans and concessions in the coming trade and finance war with the United States by presenting itself as the bulwark of reaction, as a steady ally against the Soviet Union and the progressive nations. British imperialism also tries to picture itself to Americans as the eternal partner of "American security"—meaning American imperialist interests. This is one conclusion that can be drawn from Field Marshal Wilson's recent anti-Soviet remarks.

We know that this policy of British imperialism has many friends and supporters in this country, especially among all those in favor of an Anglo-American bloc—with the British as junior partners—for ruling the world. George Soule, in his new book *America's Stake in Britain's Future*, written after a trip to England, says: "If the United States and Britain follow harmonious economic policies, they will for a long period constitute a center of gravity around which the orbits of all nations must swing." There it is. The whole world in the conscious or subconscious minds of American imperialists will become an annex of the Anglo-American bloc. What a dangerous dream this is! What catastrophe it holds for the common man!

It is for these reasons that I would not critically go all out with Wall Street

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which "interestingly enough favors giving Britain a grant." If Wall Street favors such a grant we should find out why and we should be particularly vigilant against situations where both British and American foreign policies are, on many important questions of world politics, not only moving along a dangerous path but are also collaborating against the unity of the Big Three—in other words, against the Soviet Union.

If generally, for reasons of national and world interest, we favor and fight for extension of trade relations and loans and credits to other countries—without political blackmail, usurer methods, dollar diplomacy—it does not follow that we are blindly supporting those forces that try to prevent peaceful and stable progress. To put it bluntly, there must not be a penny for organizers of a western—or any other—reactionary bloc and cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union, against the progressive countries and movements in the world. Not a penny for the organizers of potential world catastrophes. Not a penny for those who play hand in hand with American imperialism against the Soviet Union and thereby against the security of the world and the world's peace.

Many people speak of Britain being down economically. Poor, poor British Empire—stretching over a fourth of the earth's surface with tremendous riches; and containing about one-fifth of all humanity, of which more than eighty-five percent are living and dying under the dictatorial rule of the British Colonial and Indian Office in London! I am sure no democratic Greek, Indian, Bulgarian, or Yugoslav would stage a demonstration in protest against the high-hatting of British imperialism, and demand loans for it. Millions of people in the British Empire know too well who has caused them their misery, their starvation, their backwardness, who cuts off their march to freedom and social advance. It is the imperialists whom Lord Halifax represents in these financial negotiations and whose foreign policy the present foreign minister of the Labor Party is carrying out obediently.

Miss Gardner is absolutely correct when she emphasizes the intention of the powerful American imperialists to squeeze the British imperialists out of their colonial monopoly and from all their positions in world trade and finance. The imperialist law that big fish tend to eat smaller ones has not stopped operating in the relations between American and British imperialism. However, the fight against the American imperialists cannot be undertaken by support of and in alliance with a British foreign policy that tries to use American aggressive imperialist tendencies against the Soviet Union and the progressive nations. Nobody is helped by that—certainly not the British labor movement, which wants to move forward despite Bevin. The trouble with Great Britain is not that it is "down," but that its reactionary classes are too much on top and are deciding British foreign policy.

One may argue that the British have suffered much in this war, more than we, and have fought gallantly. This is true. But there are countries that have suffered even more than the British—the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, the Greeks, the Poles—and certainly have not fought less gallantly than the British. If one wants to decide the question of granting loans by the degree of suffering and fighting for the common cause during the war, then other countries come before Great Britain. But if one combines this gauge with the question: Are the present foreign policies of the governments of those peoples that have suffered so much in *accordance with the general interests of world peace, social and democratic progress?—then unfortunately this question must be answered negatively as far as Great Britain is concerned.* Of course, this can still change because British labor has not yet spoken its last word.

From all this, it seems to me that the foreign policy of the American working class and all progressive and democratic elements should be earnestly directed to investigating the problems of loans and credits: for whom, under which conditions, and for what.

LISTEN TO THE RUMBLE

New Orleans.

Out in St. James Parish they are fighting dengue fever—people call it "breakbone fever" because it's so painful. ("Parish," you know, is the Louisiana name for county—a relict of the time when state and church were not separated.) DDT, pyrethium bombs, kerosene film and minnows are being applied in the poor homes of 500 workers' families, and area around, against the *aedes aegypti* mosquito, carrier of dengue and yellow fever.

But, friends, the plight of the realtors is even more pitiful than those families', for these gentlemen get feverish even without *aedes aegypti.* Because they are threatened with—collectivism! H. Merle Smith, Chicago, field service director of the United States Saving and Loan League, this week defended private enterprise against "its deadliest competition"—the Wagner-Ellender housing bill.

Mr. Merle Smith and associates aren't opposed to government funds. But just use them to clear slums, they say, then let private enterprise develop the cleared land, "as the community deems best." Oh, a few government controls, perhaps, but the "community" will decide. (Including the 500 St. James families?)

Here's the juicy plum: You see, friends, "an estimated $20,000,000,000 will be spent by veterans alone in private home-building in the next ten years." How ghastly if public housing should turn that money from the hands of the money lenders, toward shoes, books, or doctors' bills!

Meanwhile the "just-luxury" building attacked by the CIO sounds its imperial trumpet here with gilded plans to refurbish the big hotels, one of which is to be torn down and rebuilt on a grand scale. A new yacht club will be built on Lake Pontchartrain. The press fondles congressional plans to echo the Hoover era of corporation tax reduction. Relegated to an inside page is a realistic analysis by Associated Press' James Marlow headed "YOU AND THE PUBLIC DEBT: TAXES CAN'T BE CUT MUCH."

Perhaps the realtors and loan blackbirds think the needs of government, business reconversion, and returned servicemen can be met by those rescued from dengue fever in the parishes and counties of the nation? Common men and women must find the legislative and organizational equivalents of pyrethium bombs, DDT sprays, kerosene film and minnows necessary to purge big business of its feverish disorders, the nation's peril.

ELIZABETH COUSINS ROGERS.

NEW MASSES *invites its readers to contribute to its "Listen to the Rumble" with accounts of what they see and hear on the many significant problems facing the nation today.*

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WHY THE VETS FEEL THAT WAY

A RETURNING serviceman has written me a long letter on his impressions of the civilian community where he lives in the Midwest. "I wonder where we shall end with the present attitude as prevalent as it is among the Congressmen and people. I have had no less than three bang-up arguments on my hands concerning the 'inevitability' of war with Russia. And these were people whom I felt safe in their political thinking; people who have lost members of their families, yet talking about sacrificing more and more on the altar of war because the Tafts and Bilbos have appealed to their weaknesses and won! NM comes too often. I barely get settled down to some peace of mind and along it comes with a fresh set of indignities, travesties and outrages on the common people. Such realistic reporting is sometimes trying. It stimulates too realistic a reaction. Good God, where does it end?"

I reproduce this paragraph because I believe it accurately reflects one crucial aspect of the veteran's adjustment problem and places before the progressive movement a sober challenge. Men who have been in the service, whatever their complaints against brass hats, snafu and all the rest, have been experiencing a situation in which they were part and parcel of a dynamic and highly successful process with a clear-cut objective: to win the war. Now they return to civilian life where they must find for themselves the personal economic security of a sufficient and emotionally satisfying job and at the same reconcile themselves to the planless, purposeless, competitive character of American life. If their military experience, as in the case of this veteran, has awakened them to the meaning of fascism and the need for international unity and domestic political change, the home front psychology they find in many communities is nearly insupportable. I am glad that he takes a slight crack at NM in the way he does, because it focuses attention upon a serious issue. Actually he does not question the material in NM, but he does complain that he is not given directives towards any satisfactory resolution of his own sense of inner conflict. What this man needs is an outlet for democratic group action. His inner tensions constitute an emotional asset, but unless they are channeled, the result probably will be personal frustration and social uselessness.

Think about the current glowing prospectus of postwar business that is flooding the country, the demand to let industry have a free rein, the attack upon planning for full employment as a road to serfdom, the disparagement of every aspect of the Soviet Union, the blaming of Russian diplomacy for Anglo-American cupidity, and the denunciation of organized labor because of the strikes incidental to conversion. This is the American scene to which the veteran has to adjust and in which the conscientious citizen has to operate. Where does the average man tie in?

I feel a very great personal debt to some of my Marxist friends and to the political action movements in which Marxists have assisted in providing orientation, because a certain theoretical apparatus is necessary for any individual to maintain an adequate frame of reference for understanding present events. Furthermore, I have been watching intimately for two years the way in which these individuals and movements have been struggling to keep the dynamics of the Roosevelt program alive. I am as certain as I am that the sun will rise that the current attacks upon the left and the drive to eliminate it from the political scene and from the trade union movement are less aimed at it than at the total progressive movement. This is sufficient reason why liberals no longer dare countenance or indulge in Red-baiting. We all have to learn the real forces that are operating in our national life today. As I look at the wrangling in Congress over reconversion and at the policies of the State Department in Europe and the Far East, I do not believe for a moment that these are arbitrary events or merely personal decisions. They are the reflection of concrete power concentrations and group lineups in the country's life. When English and American troops are deployed in China and Assam and the Netherland Indies, something inherent in the American system is venting its destructive logic. We are up against fundamentals in theory, in analysis, and in application. I have grown up in the context of American liberalism but I do not find essential guides in familiar patterns. More and more I suspect that in the complexity of the modern social scene the individual approach is as dated as the horse-and-buggy. The Marxists have sought to find the answer in their democratic centralism. Certainly all of us have to be open-minded and eager to learn and use adequate methods of group analysis and program.

I have in front of me a comment on the waterfront walk-out here in New York City—a headline: WILDCAT THREAT TO TROOP HOMECOMING. That is as good an illustration as any one could want of the general obscuration of a human tragedy. A year and a half ago Dr. Russell Bowie of Union Theological Seminary and I went down to Columbia Street in Brooklyn to meet a hundred or more of these longshoremen in a protest meeting. We heard their story, collected evidence of conditions both as to hiring methods and undemocratic union procedures. We had a meeting with Mrs. Anna Rosenberg to see what could be done. She acknowledged the conditions but said that wartime requirements in the port made any improvement impossible, that the authorities could not countenance waterfront strife and any changes would involve the possibilities of overt conflict. With that experience in mind, there was nothing surprising to me about the situation in the harbor this week. But what chance does the average newspaper reader, or returned veteran, get to analyze and comprehend the truth? And if this is the case about something right under our noses, what of crises in other parts of the nation, and what of the facts in North Africa, and the Balkans and Indo-China and the Netherland Indies?

That is why I want to see the practical joining of hands between civilians who sense the current propaganda myths and unrealities of the American scene and the returning veterans who are discontented with what they find at home. I'm not the least bit interested in easing our joint tensions by pleasant words, or escapist tactics, but by constructive democratic group action together.

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WALL ST. AND GERMANY'S JEWS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington

THE Truman letter to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, which shocked America into realization that except for brutalities, the Jews fared no differently in the American-occupied zone than under the Nazis, was released for publication only after formidable pressure by Jewish organizations, I am reliably informed here. Actually it was released at seven o'clock of a Saturday night (September 29) before a Madison Square Garden rally sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council scheduled for the next night. It had been planned, I learn, to demand publication of the Truman letter, which had been unduly held up since it was written August 31.

From one source here, who recently returned from Germany, I am informed that up until the letter was published, responsible subordinates continued to flout the directives it contained, and it was only with the publication of the letter and the report by Earl G. Harrison, of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, that the real heat was put on. Unfortunately, some of the powerfully placed persons who were responsible for the President's holding up the report as long as he did are in his own family of advisers—for instance, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman.

There seems to be little doubt that the floodlight of publicity and the consequent awakening of the people at home to the ugly situation has brought about improvements. But the situation is essentially unchanged and will remain unchanged until the labor movement becomes far more articulate on the whole matter of foreign policy. Actually demonstrations and mass delegations to the White House and the State Department such as now are being organized in regard to reconversion legislation and the wage issue are needed.

The press association stories, which were sent soon after the release of the Truman letter, revealed how narrow the improvements were. True, the New York *Times* put a headline over a United Press story datelined October 1: "JEWS IN ONE US CAMP RIDICULE CHARGES OF ABUSE BY AMERICANS." But how much "better" things were since their so-called liberation was revealed in the same story by the meager statements of the victims that they were no longer beaten and tortured. With the improvements, they were sleeping twelve in a room in bunks, and forty in a dormitory. They were "relatively free," the visiting correspondents found —i.e., "There is no barbed wire and no Gestapo-type guards confining them."

THE treatment of Jews in Germany by the American Army, and the breakdown of the denazification program, are reverse sides of the same coin. Both represent a complete disregard of Washington directives—by men of the Patton mentality. This was the information I received from responsible people here who added: "The Russians know what has been going on in the American sector, of course. It cannot but have helped to arouse their deep suspicions." In other words, it did not take the breakdown of the Foreign Ministers' Council in London to prove to these informed sources that the Potsdam agreement was being deliberately flouted and undermined. (C. I. Sulzberger in the New York *Times* of October 4 says that Molotov "by implication" accused "other council members of trying to force cancellation of phases of the Potsdam agreement")

The ousting of General George S. Patton, Jr. from his post as American commander in Bavaria is, unfortunately, only an incident. The danger is now that it will lull protests from America and that everything will seem to have been corrected, both in the program of removing Nazis from strategic positions and public offices, and in the treatment of Jews. These are only phases of the entire job of finishing the war and wiping out fascism. Except for the military phase, the war has not been brought to a glorious conclusion, my informants said—and it is difficult to get information to the American people which reveals that this is so.

"Actually Patton was just made the scapegoat. He was following quite literally the basic policy of the area—not the policy of the directives, to which the men around Eisenhower paid lip service, but the policy that all wanted carried out." "Patton," I was told by someone in a position to know, "pretty accurately represented the basic thinking of the group of Wall Street men running the occupation of Germany—with the exception of Eisenhower and one or two others. He said, in effect, 'We gotta get industry running. We can't be bothered about keeping the Nazis in. We gotta make things go smoothly. We must treat them like gentlemen or they will be sore. We can't upset the economy.' In this setting, the entire Jewish problem is just an irritant to them. To move Jews from concentration camps into German houses might upset the German economy, they figure."

So, Nazis are not cleared out, German machinery is not being moved and displaced persons are not much better off than before. The Germans still see the same people locked up in the same places. Even if these places are a little cleaner, or even if they are a lot cleaner, than when the Nazis ran them; even if the people get a little better food, and even though they are not physically beaten or put in crematorium ovens, with or without their children—the Jews are not free.

I talked to one government official who has been to Germany and who also went to Africa shortly after the invasion there.

"It is the same thing which happened in North Africa all over again," he said. "For months after the invasion, Jews were not released from concentration camps there. The Army gave as excuse military expediency. What the hell military reasons does the Army have for doing the same thing in Germany, though?"

SOME of the Wall Street crowd around Eisenhower include Gen. William Draper, chief of the economics division in the American area in Germany, and formerly with the banking firm of Dillon, Read & Co.; Lewis Douglas, head of the Mutual Life Insurance Co., former deputy War Shipping Administrator and brother-in-law of Assistant Secretary of War Jack McCloy; and, of course, Robert Murphy, political adviser to the American occupation forces in Germany. It was Murphy who was the top State Department envoy in Africa when the deal was made with Darlan, who the Communist deputy, Andre Marty, called the "Admiral of the waters of Vichy." Douglas is deputy to Maj.-Gen. Lucius D. Clay, formerly deputy for war programs in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion here, who does

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"Sorry—no room."

not have a Wall Street background but is said to blend in well with the men that surround him.

Draper, Douglas and Murphy pretty much have the say-so in Germany, it is reported. Stories have leaked out showing that in spite of the excellent investigations of I. G. Farben, Krupp and Bosche, we are actually reconstituting the giant German cartel octopus, piece by piece.

I am told that McCloy himself was one of the War Department officials who recently protested discreetly, and where it counted, against MacArthur's policies—but it is maintained by some close to the picture that this does not represent more than a strategic split among War Department brass hats—that it only means that they object to flagrant behavior which lets the cat out of the bag. This version says that McCloy is not in favor of a really tough peace for either Germany or Japan.

Sen. Edwin Johnson (D.-Col.) last week charged on the Senate floor that Truman told Eisenhower to go ahead and prepare to send 100,000 displaced Jews to Palestine, not believing the British Labor government would turn down his request to open the doors of Palestine to them. If so, this is not the first time the facts of life have come with a shock to Mr. Truman.

Some two to three million Jews are left in Europe as compared to more than five million who were killed. Some ninety percent of the Jews in the camps want to go to Palestine, the Harrison report indicated. A brand new Arab office has opened here in the Wardman Park Hotel and in its first press release claims that the Zionists are making a last bid for power since denazification is under way. I admit that is too subtle for me.

An address before the recent World Jewish Congress Conference in London by M. Mirsky of the Jewish Central Committee in Poland, pointed out that that body supported free and voluntary emigration of Polish Jews, and all free immigration to all lands. Nevertheless, he said, "Only the victory of democracy creates the pre-conditions for the continued existence of Jewish people, creates the possibility for its physical development and the pre-condition for the growth of its creative social and national elements in all the Jewish communities." He said that "The Zionists hold that the Jewish question can once and for all be solved through Palestine," but that this was only one sector of the Jewish people, "and not its center."

The men in the government who have no say-so in making foreign policy and who are justified in saying, "There isn't even a fight being put up in the government on this," may derive some comfort from the first evidence of an awakening on the part of the labor movement to the crucial nature of the present situation. President Philip Murray of the CIO has cabled British Prime Minister Attlee a protest in behalf of the entire membership of the CIO against the British Labor Government's policy in continuing the White Paper restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine to a token number. Murray told Attlee that British policy was "bound to have a harmful effect on Anglo-American relations." Obviously until the new government departs from the old government's concept of colonial policy it will not change on Palestine—unless it is forced to by vocal Americans, for after all, Britain is vulnerable in that she desperately wants billions from America.

The charges made here that it is the same crowd "which violently opposed the Potsdam agreement both before and after it was made" who now are the real saboteurs of any vigorous anti-Nazi policy, Patton being simply the scapegoat, are reflected in what Henry Morgenthau, Jr. said last week. Interviewed in New York on the publication of his book, *Germany is Our Problem*, Morgenthau declared that the US is failing to carry out the Potsdam agreement, cited delay in dismantling German factories for shipment to Russia, charged that "nothing important" has happened to smash the network of German assets abroad, and said that these factors contributed to the deadlock of the Foreign Ministers Council.

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THE PEACE WRECKERS

THE undeniable fact is that Allied unity, as matters stand today, is rapidly blowing into thin air. Without that unity there will be war not in the remote and unforseeable future, but within our own lifetime. It is best to face the reality, to see it clearly, to gather our strength in one concerted drive against the wreckers of the peace. It is better to know the truth now than to live in a world of fantasy where illusion merely disarms those who must do the fighting and the sacrificing. It is time for the country to cry out in protest. It is time for American labor to see how the struggle for a better wage is inseparable from a struggle to keep the friendship of the Soviet Union and of all peoples who have nothing to gain from war.

The first fact is that relations between our country and the USSR are lower today than any time since 1940. The decline began months ago when the American monopolists, no longer in fear of losing the war, began contriving their plans to isolate and arrest the influence of our strongest ally. Many of their projects were given public airings through such books as Walter Lippmann's *US War Aims* where he developed the concept of an Atlantic Community which amounts to nothing more than a scheme for American domination of the world through a group of power blocs directed against the Soviet Union.

The idea of blocs and power politics has become an inherent and fundamental feature of American postwar diplomacy. It is this alone that accounts for Byrnes' refusal to abide by the Potsdam agreement for he knows that in fulfilling the Potsdam decisions his "get-tough-with-Russia" policy will lose much of its impact. Instead, he now pleads hypocritically for all powers to decide the postwar settlement of Europe when the Potsdam agreement clearly indicates that only those powers shall be involved "which were signatory to the terms of surrender imposed upon the enemy state concerned." For example, "for the purpose of the peace settlement for Italy, France shall be regarded as a signatory to the terms of surrender for Italy. Other members will be invited to participate when matters directly concerning them are under discussion." There is not a word in the Potsdam agreement which makes it obligatory on the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain to include France and China in *all* preliminary agreements on Europe's future. Even the Republican *Herald Tribune* in New York (October 7) is forced to say "one can only regret that the United States does not have a better case in so far as the letter of the Potsdam agreement is concerned. It is also to be regretted that the United States took the initiative in breaking off the conference at a time when Russia proposed to continue it."

IF THE American State Department and the White House were so earnestly concerned with making the peace a joint Allied venture, then how is it that in the Far East, in Japan particularly, the American government is opposed to a joint control commission? Why is it that Washington insists on ruling there unilaterally and dictatorially? Why is it that Byrnes applies a special set of rules to Europe and abandons them for Asia? Why is it that in Bulgaria, Byrnes demands a perfect democracy (as that word is defined in imperialist dictionaries) while for the dictatorial Kuomintang in China he has not a word of criticism?

It is not a matter of the State Department and American foreign policy being inconsistent. The inconsistencies are only the expressions of the anti-Sovietism which now dominates the highest councils—with but few exceptions—of the government. In Europe that hostility operates in one way, in Asia in another. But in both instances the common denominator is to organize all those forces abroad whose hatred for the Soviet Union is the supreme motivation of their politics. And once you have embarked on organizing blocs of power into antagonistic communities, with the USSR as the target, then political policies develop their own inner logic. It becomes necessary to support all the feudal reactionaries of Japan even if a few of the worst ones are decapitated for the sake of appearances. It becomes necessary in addition to use America's economic might against all those groups and countries which have learned the bitter lessons of anti-Sovietism and now insist on living in friendship and peace with her. And finally, it becomes necessary to safeguard the remnants of German imperialism in order to make it one of the industrial fulcrums of a western bloc. Only last week De Gaulle, in travelling through the French zone of Germany, spoke of including Germany in such a bloc whose only reason for existence will be its anti-Soviet character.

Hirsch

Small wonder too that American experts are now urging that Germany be permitted to resume her export trade. That can only mean in the long run a rehabilitation of German industrial power. Not only is this a violation of the Potsdam agreement but it is a barefaced attempt to prevent the complete de-nazification of Germany. There are enough facts at hand, notably those coming from the Kilgore committee, to prove that American industrialists working through the American Military Government are resurrecting I. G. Farben —the monopoly that provided Hitler with the tools of war. And the men who are urging that Germany be allowed to resume her export trade are the representatives of powerful American monopolies closely tied to the German cartels. One of them is General William F. Draper who in civilian life is a member of the firm of Dillon, Read & Co., investment bankers notorious for their business deals with Germany. Another is Peter S. Hoagland now in charge of General Motors' Opel works in Germany. And a third is Rufus J. Wysor who is the former president of Republic Steel. All of them were sent by Washington to Germany and it is

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they who have now concluded that the Potsdam agreement is unworkable. In other words, they have concluded that German imperialism must be salvaged.

The Russians know these facts as well as any American who reads his newspaper carefully. And as long as they fear that the United States will not live up to its agreements to extirpate fascism root and branch, then they will act accordingly and adopt all those measures necessary to guarantee their security. In the meantime American-Soviet relations deteriorate rapidly. If the labor movement and its allies fail to stop the administration's headlong plunge into catastrophe then the peace will become, as it is already becoming, another armed truce. Too much blood has been spilled for America to become the plaything of the imperialists, of Byrnes' hypocrisy, of Truman's appeasement of the most reactionary circles in the country represented in international politics by John Foster Dulles. It is time to call a halt. It is time to stop them from making the United States the pariah of the earth. It is time to let the thunder of protest roar into the ears of every Congressman, every State Department official. Let the White House know that there is no peace in the kind of diplomacy it is engaged in throughout the world.

Remake Japan

GENERAL MACARTHUR's decree ordering the immediate release of thousands of political prisoners in Japan was a step toward breaking down the autocracy which has for decades ruled Japan by terrorism. MacArthur's decree was, of course, the result of universal condemnation of his persistent reactionary policies. Whether this step will lead to others remains to be seen, but there is no denying the fact that MacArthur has succeeded in destroying the confidence of democratic people in himself. We cannot, therefore, assume that simply because he has taken a progressive step, or rather been pushed into it, he will continue upon a more democratic course. On the contrary, the only assumption that can be made from MacArthur's record is the absolute need for getting rid of his autocratic rule in favor of a joint control council made up of those nations primarily responsible for bringing Japan to its knees.

What is required in Japan is something far more drastic than anything that MacArthur has grudgingly undertaken to date. The entire superstructure of Japan's feudal-fascist government has to be stripped. All obstructions to a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution must be removed. The basis of Japanese society lies in its land relationships and methods of agricultural production. This basis must be completely reconstituted. Genuine civil liberties must be established. New democratic political movements must be not only permitted but encouraged. A real trade union movement must be stimulated. Organization of the farmers must get under way.

No democratic tendencies of this sort can be expected until Japan's democratic leaders replace in authority the present feudal and industrial princes who seem so congenial to MacArthur, and who were former Ambassador Grew's closest friends. That is why the release of political prisoners is only a step, a step which will not have its fullest meaning or value until the genuine liberals and democrats among them are permitted to take over the reconstruction of the country in cooperation with a joint Allied control commission.

The Kuomintang's Prop

EVENTS in China are moving in contrary directions. Forced on the one hand to an agreement with the Chinese Communists, the feudal dictatorship on the other hand seeks to strengthen its dictatorial power. In the long run there can be no question which trend will win out. Chinese democracy has become a force which cannot be permanently resisted. Attempts to postpone democracy will be repeated, setbacks may be suffered by the forces of progress. But Chinese democracy, because it fulfills the needs of the Chinese peasant and worker and because its program means security, cannot long be denied.

The Kuomintang clique which controls the Chungking government is desperately trying to tighten its grip on the nation. Chen Li-fu, the notorious pro-fascist gangster leader of the Kuomintang's hateful CC clique, is in charge of all personnel appointments for the dictatorship. His recent appointments are revealing. Ku Cheng-kang, follower of the late quisling leader Wang Ching-wei, was trained in Germany and is a great admirer of the Nazi Labor Front. He has been in charge of the resurrected Farmer and Labor Movement Committee. The newly appointed chairman of the Kuomintang's Board of Information is Pan Kung-chan, another prominent CC member, who, as Israel Epstein of Allied Labor News writes, "was personally responsible for the imprisonment and execution of many progressive journalists and writers before the war." Chang Tao-fan, another reactionary, has been placed at the head of the Culture Committee, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, that insensitive patrician, has been appointed to head the Women's Movement Committee.

If one views these appointments along with Chiang Kai-shek's continued use of Japanese and quislings it becomes plain that the dictatorship is still struggling to hold power against the democratic upsurge of China's people. It is also evident that these are measures taken in desperation; they reflect weakness, not strength. For this reason the continued military intervention of the United States against Chinese democracy and on behalf of its feudal-fascist elements takes on great importance. Left to their own devices there can be no question but that China would become rapidly unified and democratized. The presence of American troops at the dictatorship's side obstructs the solution of the Chinese problem by encouraging Chiang Kai-shek to fortify his medieval stronghold. American intervention must be stopped immediately. If that were done the prospects of the Kuomintang-Communist agreement being speedily carried out would be immeasurably enhanced.

Don't Forget To Register!

One of the Answers

OCTOBER 3, 1945 will loom large in the history books of the future, for on this day in Paris the first all-inclusive world federation of organized labor was founded. The World Federation of Trade Unions, with an initial membership of seventy-five millions, is now a living reality; and the mighty forces of organized workingmen which it can marshall in behalf of progress, economic well-being, democracy and enduring peace will hereafter leave indelible marks on all future developments. There were international trade union bodies before, but this is the first time in history that the trade unions in the colonies, the economically backward countries and in the socialist Soviet Union are embraced in a global labor organization with the trade unions of industrialized capitalist countries. This world congress and its constitution have

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given evidence of a spirit of international labor solidarity and have, in a number of respects, recognized the special responsibility of the organized workers of industrially advanced countries toward their oppressed class brothers in the colonies. Colonial unions are amply represented on the executive committee, the international organization undertakes to pay all their traveling expenses, their dues payments to the international may be reduced without loss of voting rights and a solemn pledge is included in the constitution to "assist workers in undeveloped countries to build trade unions." These decisions are immensely significant to the working people of China, India, Africa, Indonesia and other colonies where workers are still treated as common beasts of burden by imperialist and domestic employers.

While the WFTU is organized primarily to fight "all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties" it is also pledged to struggle against "all fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism under whatever form it operates and by whatever name it may be known." An additional political aim is to "prevent aggression and maintain peace." The new organization manifests a maturity of wisdom in recognizing that economic objectives cannot be divorced from politics in the present-day world.

The predominance of trade unions from recently liberated countries whose members have lived under and fought against fascism; of colonial unions striving for independence and a standard of human dignity; of socialist unions who enjoy genuine security and of progressive unions like the CIO is the historic guarantee that the WFTU will resolutely carry out its pledges and obligations and never revert to the formal and impotent type of international organization of pre-war days. This was manifested in part by the rejection of divisive proposals to the Congress by Walter Citrine and by the final unanimous adoption of the constitution. The new international was forged in the fires of the anti-fascist war and is imbued with the inextinguishable spirit of democracy mounting daily in all parts of the world.

Smothering the Far East

"We don't like Japanese oppression and we don't want Dutch oppression either." These words were spoken by a leader of the Indonesian people in Batavia ten days ago. If we substitute "French" and "British" for "Dutch" we have the views of patriots in Indo-China, Malaya and Burma. For these colonies are seething with indignation and resentment at the callous way in which their former imperial overlords are trying to force themselves back into power. From the attitude and actions of the imperialists one would think there never had been a war against fascism and oppression, one would think there had never been anything like the Atlantic Charter. Apparently their one concern is to reestablish as closely as possible the relationship of forces which in the pre-war decades produced fascism and brought on the war.

The shame of the present military invasion of Malaya, Indo-China and the Netherlands Indies is equalled only by the disgrace of the retreat before the Japanese in 1942. Too many have perhaps forgotten that in a space of four months the fascist armies overran a colonial area containing 125,000,000 people. Too few remember that the British and Dutch refusal to provide the indigenous population with arms rendered them helpless before the invader. Nor do enough people today recall that so hated had the European oppressors become that large numbers of Malayans, Burmese and Indonesians gave active aid to the Japanese. "It couldn't be worse—it might be better," was their thought.

It is apparent that the British, Dutch and French governments are having difficulty in forcing their troops to take part in the reinvasion of these colonies. Troops after all are ordinary, decent people who have fought and vanquished the fascists. It is hardly surprising that they should resent orders to shoot up colonials for the sake of monopolists and pro-fascists at home.

In the Pacific area strong independence movements have developed and Communist leadership has been greatly strengthened as a result of the war and as a result of the hopes which the British, American and French government—falsely, it now seems—instilled in the hearts of all peoples aspiring to freedom. The imperialists will find every excuse, including the cowardly one of accusing them of siding with the Japanese, to shoot these patriots down.

The democratic people of the world must join with the colonial people in forming a militant anti-imperialist front. Already Australian dock workers have refused to load ships for the Dutch invasion of Java. American trade unions and other mass organizations must join in the movement to prevent direct American assistance to the colonial oppressors and fight against our own monopolists who are up to their necks in the colonial system.

Toward the Left

Without a doubt the French cantonal elections reaffirm the country's leftward trend. How that trend will express itself in terms of party strength in the national elections on October 21 is hard to say. For one the method of voting will be different. They will be held under the new system of proportional representation. For another, the Paris district did not participate in the cantonal vote and that will make considerable difference in party totals. And third, on a local scale different parties will unite to support a single candidate whose victory will be the victory of the coalition and not of a specific party. But one thing is clear from the cantonal ballot. The Socialists and Communists have made great gains. The official figures indicate that the Socialists more than doubled their number of councillors over the 1937 returns. The Communists, however, more than quadrupled their representation. In 1937 they had seventy-two cantonal councillors; now they have 328. The Radical Socialists, strong in the past in the rural areas, and the party of Edward Herriot (and Daladier), received a tremendous setback. They lost 355 councillors mostly to the Socialists, Communists and

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the Popular Republican Movement (Catholic Democrats). This latter group, to which Foreign Minister Bidault belongs, made large gains.

It would not be amiss to conclude that the landslide success of the British Labor Party had its influence on the cantonal returns and particularly on the increased strength of the French Socialists. But unlike the Labor Party the French Socialists cannot command a clear cut majority. It is only in alliance with the Communists that they will approach that majority. In other words organic unity of these working class parties becomes imperative if France is not to remain at a standstill. Whether French Socialist leadership of the Leon Blum stamp will see that need and act upon it is another matter. The Communists have shown themselves ready and willing. It would be tragic indeed if the Socialists learned so little from the past ten years of French history that they would return to old ways of doing things and thereby give the French trusts a chance to consolidate their strength.

Monopoly's Atom

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S message on the atomic bomb succeeds in evading all the thorny issues involved in this question and comes to grips with nothing more substantial than the recommendation that a commission be appointed to supervise the development of atomic energy. Though on September 23 the President told a press conference, according to the New York *Times*, that "he would make the decision on administration policy on the bomb and atomic energy when the time came—that he would have to make it," when the time came, he turned policy-making over to Congress. This may appeal to those who contrast Truman's "cooperativeness" with Roosevelt's attitude toward Congress, but millions who have watched with growing alarm what Congress has done to such measures as the full employment bill and the unemployment insurance bill will be dismayed that policy on the atomic bomb is to be determined by that body.

The Truman message is full of double talk. On the one hand, all research and use of atomic energy "for military, industrial, scientific or medical purposes" is to be conducted by a governmental commission. On the other hand the commission will be permitted to license to private interests any property for the development and exploitation of atomic energy, thus giving monopoly the opportunity of sticking a big foot through the door.

The President calls for "international arrangements" to renounce the use of the atomic bomb and encourage the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, but discussions about these international arrangements "will not be concerned with disclosures relating to the manufacturing processes leading to the production of the atomic bomb itself." In other words, we will sit on the secret and discuss arrangements on our terms—terms which no doubt will seek economic and political advantage. The Truman message shows that reactionary interests have won a substantial victory in this all-important issue. The genie is out of the bottle, but capitalism is trying to force him into the service of evil.

It is significant that the scientists who worked on the atomic bomb project feel differently about the matter. Last week's *New Republic* publishes the gist of memoranda being circulated by these scientists. They point out that within a few years every advanced civilized nation will be able to produce the atomic bomb, and that its destructive potentialities are so vast that the United States itself will become highly vulnerable to attack. The scientists urge international control responsible to the World Security Council.

Campaign Mistakes

WITHIN a few days of each other the two chief candidates for mayor of New York made major speeches. There may be those who may be tempted to say that the chief difference between them was that whereas Judge Jonah Goldstein, candidate of the Republican and Liberal Parties, started off with Red-baiting, Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer, Democratic and American Labor nominee, didn't get around to it till somewhere near the middle. If any large number of voters take this view, General O'Dwyer has only himself and the reactionary forces in his own party to blame. After attacking the Republicans for dragging out "the now faded red herring of Communism" against President Roosevelt, he proceeded to follow in their footsteps. His best friends ought to inform him that the man who used these tactics in 1944 was not elected.

When General O'Dwyer says he is opposed to Communism, he is speaking an obvious truth. But it is one thing to disagree with Communism, it is another to agree with Goebbels. That is precisely what O'Dwyer does when he attempts to place Communism and Communists outside the constitutional pale. And let him not imagine that among tens of thousands of members and supporters of the American Labor Party and within the trade union movement he has not hurt his campaign. Let him not imagine that the Negro people of Harlem, already indignant because of O'Dwyer's role in causing the Democratic Party to cancel its endorsement of Communist Councilman Ben Davis, Jr., are in any mood to tolerate further Red-baiting.

O'Dwyer is the candidate of a labor-progressive coalition of which the Communist Party, whether he likes it or not, is a part. The efforts of Governor Dewey and his henchmen to break up this coalition have thus far met with failure. But should the Farleys and Boss Flynns in the Democratic Party succeed where Dewey has failed, it could only be at the expense of O'Dwyer's election chances. To progressives who are rightly incensed at O'Dwyer's stooping to the level of two-bit bigots like Rankin we suggest that while insisting that these tactics halt, they do not allow themselves to be provoked. Their reply should be redoubled efforts to assure a big vote for the city-wide ticket of the American Labor Party and the overwhelming reelection of New York's outstanding councilmen: the Communists, Ben Davis and Peter V. Cacchione.

Out of Our Pockets

AFTER stalling for weeks and finally shelving the twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks unemployment insurance bill, the House Ways and Means Committee has moved with remarkable speed to report out a measure providing billions in tax relief for the rich. And to fortify themselves against public opinion the intrepid committee members dispensed with the customary open hearings and did their work in star-chamber fashion.

At least part of the credit for this exhibition should go to the administration. Secretary of the Treasury Vinson led off with a statement proposing generous cuts for the big corporations and meager reductions for individual taxpayers, largely those in the lowest income groups. The committee decided to vary this theme a bit by proposing slightly smaller cuts for the corporations, agreeing to Vinson's meager relief for

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the low income brackets, while reserving their largest favors for the higher individual income groups.

Specifically, the Vinson plan would repeal the excess profits tax at the end of this year, saving the corporations more than $2,555,000,000 in taxes; would repeal beginning Jan. 1, 1946, the abnormal three percent "normal" tax which every person who earns more than $500 a year must pay irrespective of dependents; would set back wartime excise (sales) taxes to pre-war levels, and keep payroll taxes for old age insurance at the present one percent rate.

The House committee's plan would kill the excess profits tax at the end of 1946 instead of 1945, but would meanwhile cut it in half; at the same time it would reduce other corporate taxes, thus providing total tax relief for big business of $2,034,000,000. On excise taxes and payroll levies the committee agrees with Vinson. The new wrinkle it adds is a flat tax reduction of at least ten percent on all individual incomes. As the tax committee of the National Lawyers Guild recently stated about a similar proposal, this "offers a spurious equality which, in actual operation, discriminates against low incomes. . . . It is an application of ability-to-pay *in reverse*." For example, under this proposal, a married person with two dependents earning $40 a week would receive a tax reduction of about $4, or one-tenth of a week's pay. On the other hand, a person earning $500 a week, would have his tax reduced by $970, equivalent to almost two weeks' pay. In fact, the higher one's income, the larger *proportionately* the tax relief.

In appeasing reaction, the Ways and Means Committee's plan seems to have a slight edge on the Vinson program. Both are insults to the American people whose sacrifices during the war contrast sharply with the record-breaking profits of corporate greed. CIO President Philip Murray's demand that the com-

(*Continued on page* 30)

AROUND THE WORLD

THE SOVIETS REBUILD

By HEWLETT JOHNSON, Dean of Canterbury

London (by mail).

AN AMERICAN actress described Russia as polite, romantic, terrific. I have no quarrel with that; especially the "terrific." Terrific in solution of problems. Terrific in energy of reconstruction. And the problems themselves are terrific. Flying treetop height on the eight-hour journey from Moscow to Prague, I saw, rolled out for hundreds of miles, a panorama of destruction which knows no parallel in Europe. Far away to the north, Leningrad had suffered appalling havoc. Rostov and Kharkov were towns of gutted factories. Stalingrad was a brickyard.

Reconstruction, however, proceeds at astonishing tempo. I compared Leningrad's new face with London's still scarred streets. It was hard without films and photographs to credit Leningrad's tale of destruction. For today Leningrad resumes its normal splendor and dignity. Women, in the main, have been the workers who did it. Women lay bricks, splash on plaster and paint and do a thousand jobs normally reserved for men. Short of stature, strong of limb, Russian women work with skill, energy, and intelligence. Many are mothers whose children attend the creche during hours of work. Families reassemble for the evening meal.

There is no stint of German labor employed on clearance and reconstruction. A German mechanic tends a car in Leningrad. A gang of Germans excavates a new road in Erivan. At Stalingrad, a thousand miles or so from each, fifty thousand German prisoners labor in street or factory.

Germans even join in skilled jobs on the tractor-belt. A German worker may, if he is a skilled mechanic and industrious, be promoted to skilled tasks in machine shops and receive higher pay.

I saw no fraternizing. Neither did I see harsh treatment. Russians are not by nature vindictive. And on Sunday all rest.

By the way, Russia has already resumed the seven-day week. Russian youth returns from the war. Trains roll in from the front. I saw Muscovites returning, Georgians returning, Armenians returning. In Erivan householders carried carpets from their homes to spread them on the mile-long road from station to civic hall to give the lads a splendid welcome.

A job awaits each lad. Factories and fields cry out for workers. Soviet Russia knows no unemployment problem. There is work to be done and a plan to organize it. In 1942, a factory in Leningrad made chocolate in April and arms in June. Now it reverts to chocolates. And, again by the way, Russians love sweetmeats. They have, for instance, developed an abnormal postwar appetite for ice cream, which is sold from innumerable portable street stalls.

My friends' six-year-old daughter begged money to buy smoked glass to observe the eclipse. "How much, Natasha?" asked mother. "Ten rubles with the ice-cream!" Natasha lost no chances.

TOWN planning is the passion of Russian architects, and their plans do not end on paper. The grandeur of the plan is only equalled by the speed of its execution. I examined Russian plans with Russian civic architects. The civic architect of Leningrad, for instance, described his designs and models of a vast new city running miles alongside the gulf of Neva. The architect of Erivan took me all around his own fine city in his car, showing me project and achievement.

I spent a whole morning on a launch with Stalingrad's architect examining his superb designs for the heroic Volga city. I bathed in the Volga with him afterwards. A bath on a day so hot that eggs would cook on the sands. Curiously enough, Stalingrad was the hottest town of all I visited; hotter than central Asia or Armenia. Stalingrad is a long and narrow city. It sprawls along the Western bank of the Volga for thirty miles or more. With maps stretched out on the deck we pursued a design which will make Stalingrad world famous for riverside architecture. Around a park-like square in the center which descends

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westward down a flight of vast ceremonial steps to the landing stage, will be grouped the public buildings of the city, civic hall, opera house and the like.

Northwards and southwards boulevards will stretch along by the riverside, the high banks above them treated as parklands with tree-lined paths. Trees will flourish everywhere, the country invading the town. Above the banks will rise the houses; lower houses in front, taller houses behind. Every effort will be made to take advantage of the glorious Volga, a noble river upwards of half a mile wide at Stalingrad. Heavy industry will be located in the "iron town" up the river to the north, with full amenities for the iron workers.

Prefabricated timber houses are running up in Stalingrad. Good houses, too. Some Russian, some Finnish. The Finnish designs are not popular. Russians naturally prefer Russian designs. I personally liked the Finnish.

In Armenia, farther removed from the seat of war, but not from the threat of war, building and reconstruction have been proceeding even throughout the war years. It was indeed essential. The influx of refugees brooked no delay. Twenty years ago Erivan, the capital, was an unsanitary congeries of mud-roofed houses and dirty, cobbled streets. The population was 27,000. Infants in czarist Erivan died like flies.

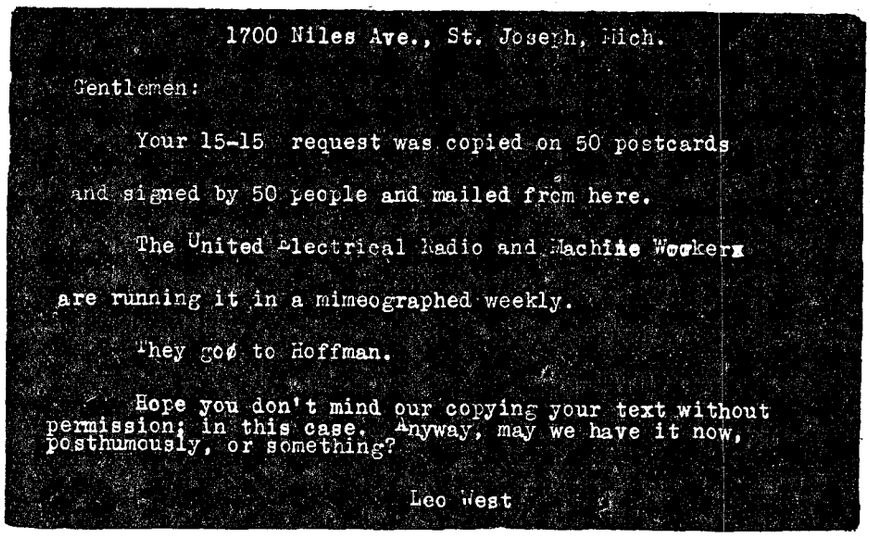
Today, Erivan's spacious plan made ten years ago by a famous Academician, is already out of date and replaced by a still more spacious plan for nearly half a million inhabitants. Erivan has grown into the splendid city of a civically proud people. Naturally artistic, the Armenians have experienced a burst of creative activity under the Soviet regime. Like all Russians they are proud of their cities. They ask you even as you drive from the aerodrome: "What do you think of our city?" To which I would naturally reply: "Well, please let me see it first!"

It is the same in Uzbekistan, one of the Central Asian republics. Tree-shaded Tashkent, its capital, is to my mind one of the finest cities in all the Soviet Union. Being by tradition a Moslem and not a Christian city, it lacks pictorial art but excels in color and decoration. Tashkent has now a passion for the theater. A city which a dozen years ago had neither theater nor opera house produces opera which would raise a storm in London.

Two other things stand out in Tashkent; cotton mills which have nothing to learn from Lancashire or the US, and scientific cotton culture which has much to teach the world. I spent a whole morning at the scientific station with the agronomists who have grown crops of colored cotton; brown, green and gray, and with a texture, where desired, approaching that of wool. It was pleasant to handle a blanket, like a sage-green carriage rug, made entirely of undyed cotton.

The progress of the young republics which have developed a new life within the Soviet Union is perhaps the most striking of all the sights I saw in Russia. The further story of that development I plan to tell in a book to be called *Soviet Russia Comes of Age*.

Parallel to the story of the republics is the story of the youth I met and knew intimately. Youth whose years ran step by step with the Soviet regime itself. A youth which now, like the Republics, has come of age. My quest from first to last has been to discover what Soviet Russia has done for life; individual life, and the group life of the various outstanding nationalities. That is the supreme and final test of every system. Does it develop the people's lives—creative, inventive, progressive, loving and loveable? None could visit Armenia, Georgia and Uzbekistan without an affirmative answer. Many things remain to be done. Shadows mingle with the lights, but the upshot spells success.



1700 Niles Ave., St. Joseph, Mich.

Gentlemen:

Your 15-15 request was copied on 50 postcards and signed by 50 people and mailed from here.

The United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers are running it in a mimeographed weekly.

They go to Hoffman.

Hope you don't mind our copying your text without permission; in this case. Anyway, may we have it now, posthumously, or something?

Leo West

Another of the many postcards *New Masses* has received from readers. The Hoffman is Clare Hoffman. We again suggest that you act on the coupon below. Let us know to whom you have sent it so that we can check on the Congressmen through our Washington office.

15 Plus 15

THIRTY billion dollars in war funds are being saved as a result of the Japanese surrender. I favor using them to bolster purchasing power, create jobs and combat threatening depression as follows: $15,000,000,000 for severance pay and increased demobilization pay, $15,000,000,000 for immediate public works. I urge you to support this proposal as well as other essential measures such as the Murray-Patman full employment bill, the Kilgore-Forand unemployment insurance bill, a permanent FEPC, the Pepper 65-cent-an-hour minimum wage bill, the Wagner-Ellender housing bill, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill, and the amendments to liberalize the GI Bill of Rights.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

(Cut out and mail to your Congressman)

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READERS' FORUM

The World Still Shakes

TO NEW MASSES: When I think of Jack Reed it is like listening to the Russian music of "From Border to Border" or "Meadowland." The vast spaces of the Russian land live in these tunes and the great spaces of our own American land were called to mind in Jack's presence.

His, in that sense, was "The Body Electric." When he came up from revolution-torn Mexico or returned from the Cripple Creek tragedy of Rockefeller's Colorado mining domain or from the great Paterson strike and stood arm on mantelpiece at a gathering in a Greenwich Village flat, the walls fell away, and the vistas of the land and the particular drama enacted on it seemed to engulf you even before John Reed had uttered a word.

Gene Debs had that quality and Bill Haywood, too. But to me it seemed that Jack's youth, his freshness in the struggle, his ability to adapt himself to the variety of conditions prevailing on the different fronts of the economic war made him at once the living symbol of the New Man.

His was the physique of a football player. His features, however, with their roundness and slight concavity which a palisade of a brow only emphasized, had a suggestion of the feminine. His coloring one might have called a brunette-blond.

How dearly the "Mexican interventionists" of the period would have loved Jack were he another Richard Harding Davis! But here was a fine American lad, out of Harvard too, talking a different language yet writing for the same magazine as Toothy Teddy Roosevelt! It was inevitable that Jack one day would tell Teddy to his face what a dangerous old humbug he was.

I would like Jack alive today and in Japan, for one place. The "Soft-Peace-for-Japan MacArthur," he who could also say that "the fate of civilization rests on the worthy banners of the Red Army," could stand a bit of proper writing about, if not talking to. Earlier I would have liked John Reed marching with the Chinese Eighth Route Army. I would have liked John Reed alive and in Republican Spain when the youth of the country bared its chest to the invading fascist and Nazi hordes.

John Reed, you should have been at the San Francisco Conference. There came the great Molotov to stand alone against the old imperialist gang who paid lip-service to great liberating ideas hammered out at Cairo, Teheran and Yalta and consecrated by the blood of millions.

John Reed, you would have been with us but for a typhus louse, encountered in the famine-ridden land at the birth of the Workers' Soviet Republic. Your sense of the continuity of the class struggle would have given you a firm footing so that when the locomotive of history made a sharp turn you would not, like some of your contemporaries and later others who boarded the train, have jumped off precipitately like Lord Jim from his ship, or through sheer lightheadedness been jolted off.

Jack Reed, back in 1931, one May afternoon late, I walked across Red Square and asked a couple of Moscow traffic policemen in helmets and grey-green uniforms to direct me to where you lay near the Kremlin wall. Yours was a grassy plot, the last of a row where lay heroes of the Soviet Union. The graves flanked one side of Lenin's Tomb where I'd previously seen the great founder and liberator lying in state.

I stood there regarding your name, so strange in Russian characters, and recalled the time I had last seen you. It was shortly after my return from a tour of the West Indies in April 1917. As artist-correspondent for the Scripps syndicate, the NEA (Newspaper, Enterprise Association) I had covered the ceremony of the purchase of the Danish West Indies (now Virgin Islands). President Wilson had just appointed Elihu Root and Charles Edward Russell to head a commission which was sailing for Petrograd to report on the state of affairs under Kerensky. I thought the NEA should have an artist-correspondent on that spot, too, and I felt that a few lines from you to the folks on the Neva would come in handy.

So I dropped in at your Washington Square South apartment; that large affair ran from front to rear, a cold water flat but with fireplace—not the cubby-hole sort of thing they've been converting such places to, but where a guy of your build, of your great generous heart, had lots of elbow room.

You were heading uptown to the Harvard Club and invited me along. I can't recall what we chattered about, but most of what you said had to do with how broke you were and how many of your needy friends had got your change away from you and you didn't know when you'd be able to get more. It began to dawn on me that you probably thought I, too, was going to ask you for a loan.

It was not till we got settled with our highballs that I got a chance to tell you what I really wanted of you. I got your promise of a letter, but never came for it as the NEA was not engaging anyone for that assignment.

Jack, there are a lot of fine boys and girls on the NEW MASSES carrying on in your tradition today. Great strikes in industry are on. Greater ones are looming. The boys who fought the war on the battle lines and at home on the assembly belts, who could have been relied on to help implement the peace that would spread democracy throughout the world, are being diverted from that direction by the pressing needs of every-day existence. Their plight is deliberately precipated by the "Free Enterprisers" of old who like the Bourbons never learn. They want nothing of the Wallace program of 60,000,000 jobs. The gangsters of the press and the pulpit, the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson Axis, and the Coughlins and Gerald Smiths who even hide behind neighborhood hoodlums, spread suspicion, race-hatred and division among the workers whose best interests would be served by unity. And again we have those hounds—this time called the Un-American Activities Committee.

Jack Reed, it's rough going, but you'd love it. Once, Ten Days shook the world. It's been shaking every minute it seems, ever since then. And an awful lot of fascists and Nazis have been shaken off of it. And your kind is doing a lot of the shaking, on the assembly line, in the fields, in the arts, sciences and professions. You may recall a painter named Picasso. Well, everything he does is news and with your nose for news you must have known for some time that a certain ivory tower toppled.

When the shaking stops, Jack (unless the atomic bomb blasts the planet to smithereens), and the visibility is clear again, there we'll see what your vision always saw—*man*, a small mite between the stars and the earth he stands on, but free—and mighty significant.

MAURICE BECKER.

New York.

[NEW MASSES *honors John Reed this Friday, October 12, at Manhattan Center.* *See page 31.*]

Arnault and Art

TO NEW MASSES: The long article by Arnault, *Painting and Dialectics* (NEW MASSES, August 14), is a challenge to all interested in art. While it is interesting, and quite informative in parts, I question the entire article in its bearing on the development of our art. During the past year, I went to many exhibitions, and I talked to a large number of people who did likewise. I read numerous reviews of the current artistic efforts. It seems to me that fully half of what is being painted nowadays is an intolerable hodge-podge of paint, canvas, and hot air. The other half is good conventional art, of varying degrees of excellence, and represents many schools.

Now, when half of the serious efforts of a large number of adult men and women is a flat failure, or, at best, of dubious

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quality and value, it is an alarming situation in the artistic field. Now comes Mr. Arnault and tries to give a philosophic and intellectual basis and justification to this deplorable condition. The essence of the Arnault article can be found in the following lines: "And it is also for this reason that a good painting, while it may not be a realistic representation of nature, is an embodiment of the same laws which operate through natural phenomena." In other words, even if the picture is not true to anything in nature, as long as it is dialectically correct, we ought to like it, and approve. This reasoning is contrary to the fundamental principles of scientific procedure. It is an axiom that if a theory cannot be proved in practice, theer is something wrong with the theory. Such a theory may be false entirely, or premature, but in any event, it is speculative and questionable. A picture may be dialectically correct, but it is possible that no one will understand it, or like it. To justify a picture just because it is correct from some theoretical viewpoint is highfalutin nonsense. It is about time that we ordinary laymen should raise our voices and say so.

Moreover, one can argue about Arnault's conclusions as applied to art. A thing, or an event, can be dialectically correct, and yet we may not like it. . . . A great many "dialectic" pictures are nothing more than artificial and intellectual effort. They could easily be dispensed with by many artists, and in fact, some do change their school of painting several times during their lives.

As I see it, Mr. Arnault's article is an attempt to rationalize poor and talentless art by long, tedious, cumbersome and artificial reasoning that does not contribute to our culture, to the improvement of the artistic taste of our masses, or to the enjoyment of art by them. The latter is really the nub of the question: Art as well as life is something to be enjoyed, and not only to be endured, to be suffered, or to be puzzled over. That is why revolutionaries in all ages have always struggled against artificial constrictions as well as against oppression in the fields of politics, economics, education—and art.

I am not against discussing pictures. But, in all truth, there is often nothing to discuss in what Arnault calls dialectical pictorial composition. It is proper to widen the scope of analysis, but it is an elementary rule in grammar that one must have a noun and a verb in order to construct a complete sentence, and for that matter, to make sense.

Give me art that pleases, that tells me something, that makes me think, worry, smile. Give me art that makes me enthusiastic enough to meet the struggles of the day, or to soothe me, after a day's work, with its meaning, its color, its skill. Give me art for everyone, and such art will not need skillful intellectual tailoring by Arnault and his like.

MORRIS KELLERMAN.

Our British friends share a common problem. From the monthly, "Our Time."

"Migawd, Private Postlethwaite's written another letter to Klingender ['Our Time's' art critic] re Marxism and Modern Art."

Death and —

TO NEW MASSES: Here is an open letter to the Man in the Middle of the Muddle.

Dear M.M.M.: Another Mellon is in the offing, by George!

Andy Mellon nursed the tax-burdened millionaires safely through Postwar One. Remember? Gave them back $200,000,000 in one slice, after it had been collected. Remember? Little ALCOA and the other squalling war-babies forgot their colic after that. Remember? Afterwards they sold *you* and the other M.M.M.'s on a swell idea. Andy was Alexander Hamilton the Second! Remember?

Then phooey! Everything went to hell! Remember? You and others like you lost everything but your mortgaged shirts. But little ALCOA didn't lose hers. Nor did the seven-come-eleven figure big shots inside that sweet, juicy core of the Mellon rind.

Well, now we have another "tax authority" ripening in the Mellon patch, a "statesman" whose roots lie deep in the lush soil of poll-tax-sharecropper philosophy, Senator George, by George, of Georgia.

In the Alexander Hamilton the Second tradition of statesmanship, Senator George has just broadcast his program of taxation and it's a honey. With democratic straightforwardness, he tells you M.M.M.'s he'll treat everybody alike. Yes, sir! A cut of income taxes straight across the board, *a cut of fifty percent* for everybody lucky enough to make enough to tax. Democracy in action? Any cluck that couldn't see that would be too dumb to have anything to tax.

What if the fifty percent saved for themselves by the Mellonaires and the rest of the seven-come-eleven-figure boys does salt down billions beyond reach of future assessment? What if fifty percent still taken from M.M.M.'s does leave only the thin edge of respectability to skate on? Hell, man, isn't this a free country? God's country? Free for individual initiative? Hasn't anybody told you that it's overcoming hardships that builds "tax authorities" like Mellon and George, big men who hate coddling except maybe by little tricks like the poll tax, the tariffs, the patent laws, land grants, subsidies, rebates & & &, mere trifles which are democratically, available to everybody smart enough to be a "tax authority"?

Yes, by George, we have another Mellon about ready for the picking by the fat boys who know when the moon is right for raiding the Mellon patch. George says not this year, perhaps. But *next year!* Next year they'll take everything *but the seeds of another panic for you M.M.M.'s and the rind to pickle for the poor!*

ROBERT A. PERKINS.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Verse

TO NEW MASSES: In your July 31 issue Fred Basset Blair, in a letter headed: "Poetry and the People," writes: "Poetic form and content are related. . . ." This is a truism, but scarcely informative. Just let someone try to present an idea (content) without its taking on form and immediately he will be compelled to agree with the profound observation advanced by Mr. Blair.

In the next sentence, Mr. Blair states, "The needs of the people's movement today demand a full evaluation of poetic forms, and rejection of all those which hinder communication between the poet and the people. . . ."

Form channelizes the development of content, gives it direction, spurs development in some directions and restricts in others. The Marxist uses his concept of form and content to improve form in order to give the content the widest possible development.

Another side to the matter is illustrated by the work of another friend of mine, Peter Seeger, formerly one of the Almanac Singers. Pete takes new ideas (content) and puts them within the framework of ballad and folklore forms. His work consists of reaching the people through their old traditional forms of expression. He finds it difficult to reconcile the academic thesis that form is governed by content with the fact that he objectively adapts content to old forms.

A very important problem of the people's movement, so-called, is therefore one of finding the forms traditional and accepted by the people.

The whole idea behind the Marxist concept of form and content is practical. It is anti-academic. Its purpose is to analyze each specific problem in order to improve, master and adapt. It is no separate or special theory, but the objective application of the dialectical method to the problems of the intellectual.

From such a point of view, I think the purpose of your magazine would be better served by presenting specific problems of individuals, indicating why they selected the forms they used and what they did to adapt their work to the forms they chose. The dialectical method would be better demonstrated and observed in its processes than it can possibly be explained in general theoretical articles. CPL. TONY H. ADREAN.

Saipan, Marianas.

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FROM THE BOOKSHELF

THE AGE OF JACKSON, *by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Little, Brown. $5.*

ENGELS in his *Origin of the Family* deals with the attempt of a developed ruling class to deny its favored position or, even, its separate existence:

"What is good for the ruling class has also to be good for the whole of society, with which the ruling class identifies itself . . . it is compelled to cover up the evil conditions necessarily created by it with the cloak of charity, to palliate them or deny their existence . . . [this] finally culminates in the assertion that the exploitation of the oppressed class is carried on by the exploiting class simply and solely in the interests of the exploited class itself. . . ."

But in the robust, historically progressive and ideologically naive days of American capitalism—in the age of Jackson—this hypocrisy was exceptional and late in appearing.

For Clay and Calhoun, for Biddle and Webster, "power naturally and necessarily follows property," to quote the latter—and no nonsense about it. And for those who opposed them—for Jackson, Van Buren, Blair, Kendall—class struggle was a self-evident, prime element in life and in politics. The age of Jackson came at the conclusion of the period of the establishment and consolidation of the national existence of the then uniquely organized United States and was marked by the appearance and development of industrial capitalism, with its concomitants of urban concentration, trade unionism and labor politics.

Schlesinger's book demonstrates that these elements, rather than some mystical and ill-defined sectional or frontier influence, were decisive in shaping and bringing to fruition the ascendancy of Jackson, the broad democratizing of politics, the successful challenge to continued domination of the currency and credit of the nation by the Bank of the United States, and the formation of a political weapon capable of withstanding the slaveocracy.

Schlesinger remarks: "It seems clear now that more can be understood about Jacksonian democracy if it is regarded as a problem not of sections but of classes." And such is the state of respectable American historiography at the present moment that a statement of so self-evident a nature must be hailed as a considerable step forward.

In this, then, the book performs a service as it does, too, in resurrecting the names and some of the deeds of such democratic leaders as Samuel C. Allen, Theodore Sedgwick, Ely Moore, Frederick Robinson, William Foster, William Leggett, John Ferral and Frances Wright. The work is good on the character of the struggle against the Bank, on aspects of utopianism, and on the popular pressure behind Free Soilism (though the role of the Negro is ignored).

YET the book has serious faults. When Schlesinger says "the first momentum against slavery" came from the "old 'Church and State' faction" of the 1830's he is wrong. The first momentum — organizational, ideological and physical—came from the Negroes, slave and free, and was accelerated by white allies—particularly Southern nonslaveholders—long before Weld and Garrison and Garnet and Douglass entered the field.

Schlesinger is wrong, too, in saying that it is impossible, in terms of historical causation, to assert that material conditions precede and determine moral judgments.

He strikes nearer the truth at another point when he states: "the vital origins of an effective social philosophy are the concrete needs of the day." Correct. This does not mean that moral fervor, deep conviction, humanitarian aspirations are unimportant, as Schlesinger fears, but it does mean that such fervor, conviction, and aspirations spring from material conditions, from life's demands. And when Schlesinger says that a Marxist feels that the presence of the material motive discredits the other he is, of course, uttering absurdities.

This occupation with the alleged feelings and views of Marxists—all equally ill-informed—characterizes the book and is accounted for, perhaps, by a fear that some readers, seeing the conclusions to which his investigations of the Jacksonian era have forced him, may decide that the author is a fit subject for an un-American inquisition.

So he makes his respectability—and inanity—perfectly clear by quoting Marx and Lenin to the effect that Marx did not "discover" the existence of the class struggle; by snide remarks about Marxist "revelation"; by vulgar and obscene slanders, as when he says of George Wilkes that he was "an able, dissolute, and ruthless scoundrel, a frequenter of brothels and publisher of obscene books [who] appropriately enough . . . ended up as one of the first American Communist fellow travelers"; and he does it by setting up straw men, as creations of Marxists, and then demolishing them.

It is quite true that Marx stated (letter to Weydemeyer, 1852) that he had not discovered the class struggle and that, prior to his time, social scientists had used the concept. And Lenin (in *State and Revolution*) said the same thing, pointing out that "a Marxist is one who *extends* the acceptance of class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*." Nevertheless, it is true, as Engels remarked in the passage already quoted, that a mature —not to say senile—ruling class prefers to "forget," publicly, the existence of classes; that the concept of class struggle is a necessary *beginning* in the application of Marxian analysis; and that the revival of that concept, in modern

Prize Contest

Deadline of the Art Young Memorial Award Short Story Contest is November 15. Stories are to be not longer than 3,500 words and are to be typed, double-spaced, on one side of the paper. Judges include Whit Burnett, editor of "Story Magazine," Leane Zugsmith and Isidor Schneider. Prize is $100.

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A magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism

OCTOBER, 1945

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times, owes a great deal to historical materialism.

The prejudices of the author distorted his investigations of George Wilkes. At the age of twenty-four Wilkes founded and edited a New York paper called the *Subterranean* which (as Mott states in his definitive *History of Magazines*) burrowed "beneath the nefarious politics" of the day and exposed connections between criminals and politicians. He then founded, in 1845, as Schlesinger notes, the *National Police Gazette*, but Schlesinger fails to point out that (again to quote Mott) "it is a mistake to think that the *Police Gazette* featured sex scandal in these early years; that was to come later"—after Wilkes sold the paper. Wilkes then went to the staff of the important *Spirit of the Times*, finally becoming its owner. He was a fairly consistent Left Republican for the remainder of his life, and one of the first public advocates of a government-built and owned transcontinental railroad. And, being in Paris during the days of the Commune, he hailed the Parisian workers, and appealed for the formation of "fraternal republics" which, by collective action, might prevent wars.

Such is Schlesinger's "dissolute and ruthless scoundrel" who "appropriately enough" showed some sympathies for Marxism.

As for Schlesinger's "Marxian" straw men, notice has already been taken of his repetition of the ancient canard anent the soullessness of historical materialism. Similarly, at another point, Schlesinger quite rightly lambasts the deterministic and mechanistic interpretation of the Civil War, but erroneously attributes this to Marxists (unnamed), though his refutation of it rests heavily, as it must, upon Philip Foner's admirable *Business and Slavery!*

And the author's own positive ideas concerning that war are false. Moving out of the Jacksonian era where much study convinced him of the superior efficacy of a class rather than a sectional interpretation for purposes of analysis and understanding, he reverses himself in a hasty perusal of the age of Lincoln. Here he decides that the Civil War "was principally a question of North and South" and that "most of the humble people of the slave states rallied eagerly to the cause of slavery," while the rich in the North backed the Union. Modern investigation is demonstrating, on the contrary, that a basic element in the Confederacy's collapse was its lack of a mass base and the active opposition to it of the humble Southerner—Negro and white. This may be substantiated by reference to the works of Wish, Aptheker, Moore, Lonn, Shugg, Wesley, Stickles, Bettersworth, Owsley and Wiley, all of whom, by the bye, are but documenting the contemporary observations of Karl Marx, Abraham Lincoln, and Edmund Ruffin, a leading theoretician of Secessia. And as for the support (well paid for, of course) which segments of the rich in the North gave the Union struggle, this but substantiates the veracity of the class interpretation of the Civil War, for this segment was, very largely, the industrial capitalist, a class diametrically opposed to the interests of the slaveholders.

But it is probable that Mr. Schlesinger would boast of his deliberately partial use of the instrument of class analysis. In typical liberal fashion he fears solutions; in fact, denies their possibility. He says that "if social catastrophe is to be avoided . . . it can only be by an earnest, tough-minded, pragmatic attempt to wrestle with new problems as they come, without being enslaved by a theory of the past, or by a theory of the future." In another place he expresses his belief that "most important problems" cannot be solved; and he seems incapable of understanding that while, of course, struggle is implicit in liberty (indeed, in life) the *level* of the struggle need not be, in fact, cannot be, eternal and unchanging.

Mr. Schlesinger closes his work with the breath-taking pronunciamento that "The great tradition of American liberalism regards man as neither brute nor angel." Is this not a truly profound and consequential faith with which to buttress the dismal finding of a social scientist that, after all, "most important problems" are insoluble!

HERBERT APTHEKER.

The Good Ship "Equality"

ALL BRAVE SAILORS: *The Story of the S. S. "Booker T. Washington," by John Beecher. Fischer. $2.50.*

WHAT made the *Booker T. Washington* the most important ship of this war? She was an ordinary Liberty ship like a couple of thousand others, and like the others delivered materials of war to armies fighting the fascists. Like other vessels she faced heavy weather, submarines, planes and mines. Cargoes of TNT endangered her as they did others. The same kind of courage and hard greasy labor were required of the crew of the *Booker T.* as of other crews in the convoys that

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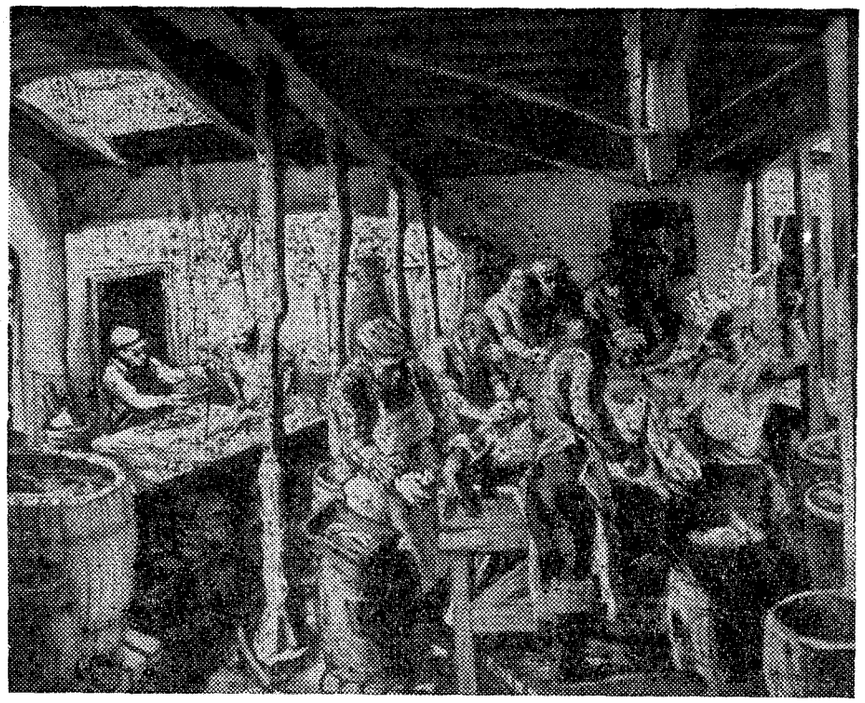

"Dark Shed with Skylight," by Philip Reisman. At the ACA Gallery through Oct. 20.

made victory possible. And as with most other ships that kept afloat there were hairbreadth escapes and feats of seamanship which became a tradition kept alive in the forecastles when the men came off watch and in the bars when they got ashore.

An honest account based on this much alone of the saga of the *Booker T.* would endear itself to any seaman, and would illuminate the shoreside reading public, and *All Brave Sailors* is such an account. But it is much more. John Beecher has built with salty, moving anecdotes proof that barriers of race are easily overcome. He shows that men of whatever pigmentation or national origin can work together on a plane of heightened creativity when false standards of judgment are given the deep six. The theory is not new, but Captain Mulzac, Negro, and his mixed crew, lived this theory on shipboard. The result is an achievement full of implications for the not yet united—or equal—nations of the major part of the world.

The *Booker T.* proved that it just isn't true that Negroes and whites cannot cooperate fully to the general advantage, and John Beecher points this moral with stories of dozens of carefully observed incidents. He also shows it just isn't true that Southern whites can't learn to accept Negro leadership, any more than it is true that Negroes can't give it. Beecher should know. He himself is Southern and white, and he served for two years as purser under the Negro skipper, Captain Mulzac.

The whole rich life of the *Booker T.* is shown through thumbnail biographies of many of its crew, and through accounts of the crew's militant solidarity in the face of the Jim Crow restrictions our Army tried—not always successfully—to impose wherever it went.

Using frequent flashbacks, dipping often into autobiography, and avoiding consecutive narrative treatment, Beecher paints a kind of montage picture of the life of the *Booker T.* His method makes it possible to give in a limited space the feel of the vigorous democracy in union meetings aboard ship, and to make credible the warm friendships the crew developed with anti-fascists — French, Spanish, Yugoslav—in ports where the ship touched. Probably no other book shows as dramatically as *All Brave Sailors* what potentialities for democracy there are in the progressive trade unions of our country. Without the National Maritime Union, Captain Mulzac would never have been given command of a ship, and without the NMU the life of the crew might have been very barren and bitter indeed. As it was, to quote the chief engineer, "Every night millions of people were praying for the *Booker T. Washington.*" *All Brave Sailors* makes this easy to understand.

FRANKLIN FOLSOM.

Rome Fought Back

INSIDE ROME WITH THE GERMANS, *by "Jane Scrivener." Macmillan. $2.50.*

THIS is a more significant book than might have been expected from an American Catholic who lived in Vatican City and worked on the Pope's relief projects throughout the last years of fascism. The views of a "Catholic religious," as Prof. Carleton Hayes calls his pseudonymous friend in the introduction, could not have been expected to be very profound. Yet there are interesting, exciting things in this diary of what happened in Rome from July 1943, until June 1944, when the Allies arrived.

It is first of all a vivid record of the beastliness and sham of fascism, the complete degeneration of a system. By contrast, it is also the record of courageous, brilliant resistance by Rome's citizens. And the leadership of the Communists cannot be ignored in "Jane Scrivener's" diary, however much she dislikes them.

The German seized Rome on Sept. 9, 1943, through the treachery of Marshal Badoglio's generals. They pillaged the city under the pretext of defending it as an "open city." They brought Mussolini's "Fascist Republicans" back; the city was driven to the crust of starvation. The diary exposes painfully the sheer horror of those nine months, the extortion and massacre of the Jews, the lying of the press, the gangsterism and forcible enslavement of the Roman youth all during the time that Churchill's "hot rake of war" proceeded so leisurely up the peninsula.

But the people fought back. That is in the record, too. Nazi trains were exploded. Officers were ambushed. Fascists were assassinated. Leaflets appeared from nowhere. And despite the fierce reprisals, like the murder of 300 Romans in the Ardeatine Cave, the people resisted in an organized way. "Jane Scrivener" is not always sure it was worth it, but the Romans never had doubts.

The second significant aspect of this diary lies in the inner dilemmas of an honest Catholic. Beyond question, this woman loved the Italian people and hated their enemies. She helped save many Allied prisoners and helped hide many a patriot. From the safety of the Vatican, she shared their dangers. The gangsters outrage her.

And yet, she too betrays astounding illusions about fascism. The Pope's strange neutrality is defended, of course.

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- What's the future of the Trade Unions in Europe?
- Will Europe Go Democratic?
- What about the British Labor Party?
- What will Germany's Future Be?

Participating with Mr. North will be:
JOHN BERNARD, P.A.C. director of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; ROBERT TRAVIS, vice-president, State Industrial Council of the C.I.O.

She admits that the Germans took pains to propitiate the Pope "as if they realized that when their collapse [came] the Pope's would be the only voice which could be raised in their favor" —or again: "when their inevitable debacle comes, they want to have friends at the Vatican to salvage what may be salvaged." One of the Nazi butchers, General Von Stahel, is noted as "a very decent man, an Austrian and a Catholic." Even Kesselring gets an occasional kudos. She regrets the assassination of Count Ciano and expresses sympathy for him. She resents criticism of King Victor Emmanuel, and offers the contemptuous judgment that "Italy will never succeed in being one republic. Only a monarchy can unite its divers provinces. . . ."

So we have this dichotomy: "Jane Scrivener" shares the people's battle in her way, yet remains essentially sympathetic to the things that helped breed fascism.

Perhaps the most appropriate comment is the one she herself makes in another connection: "It is strange to be in the heart of these things," she writes during the confusion over the seizure of Rome "and to know really nothing about them." That phrase accurately characterizes the political depth of this observer.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

Brief Reviews

LIBERATION: *Picture Story of the Yugoslav People's Epic Struggle. Edited by Louis Adamic. Published by The United Committee of South-Slavic Americans. 50c.*
THE MARCH OF EVIL: *A History of the Rise and Fall of the Fascist Evil, by A. R. Lerner. Forewords by Prof. James Sheldon and Hon. James W. Gerard. F.F.F. Publishers, New York. 50c.*

THESE two large-page, paper-bound books are built on the new technique of photo reproductions and extensive captions. The one on Yugoslavia has the simple completeness of the whole story, the Partisan victories after the nation's defeat, the heroism that transcends the horror.

That is lacking in *The March of Evil*, which concentrates on the horror. It lacks too the Italian chapter of the story and the even more decisive Spanish chapter. Spain was the first cross-frontier stride of the fascist march in Europe. Accomplished in virtual collusion with the Western democracies, and in defiance of Soviet appeals, the abandonment of Spain was more fatal than the abandonment of Czechoslo-

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- Who Is Behind the Present Italian Situation?
- Can Reaction Win?
- What Are the Political Possibilities in the Balkans?
- What are the Developments in France?

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vakia to which it led. That policy of the Western democracies cleared the roads for the "march of evil" on to its attempt at world conquest. It cannot be left out of any full picture. Nevertheless, for its overwhelming evidence of the meanings of fascism in human suffering, the book has value.

TAPS IS NOT ENOUGH, *by Carl Carmer. Holt. $1.*

CARL CARMER'S poetic dialogue for radio production is simple and direct, a grave plea that death and victory be turned into life and peace. Standing at the door of death, friends of the Unknown Soldier of this war caution the world's speech-making "realists" that "Taps is Not Enough"; that his sacrifices earn more than a speech, a tear and a new war.

Worth Noting

THE first two volumes of the *Aurora Verlag*, American-German publishing house for anti-fascist writers, have just been issued. They are *Die Unbesiegbaren*, by Franz Weiskopf, several of whose books, including *The Firing Squad*, are well known to American readers and whose new book, *Twilight on the Danube*, is to appear shortly; and *Der Quasterl* by Oskar Maria Graf, known to American readers by his book *My Mother*.

IN ADDITION to its new production, *The Tragic Jest*, based on the Sholem Aleichem comedy (to open at the Barbizon Plaza Theater on the evening of November 24) The Yiddish Theater Ensemble will give two repeat performances of the 1944 success with which it launched its career, *The Downfall of Haman*, a play about the ancient tyrant whose career paralleled that of Hitler. The repeat performances will be given at the same theater on the evenings of November 10 and 18.

TO ACCOMMODATE its expanding work the New School Dramatic Workshop directed by Erwin Piscator, has leased the President Theater, putting its productions on Broadway.

DEMOCRATIC progress as seen by a movie press agent: "Society's 'favored 500' will be liberally represented among the seatholders who will be present as the social successors of the once famous '400,' because things are a bit more democratic now than was the case in the late nineties."

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

BERLIN TO BATAAN

By JOSEPH FOSTER

DIRECTLY following *The True Glory*, at the Victoria, comes *The Fall of Berlin*, the Soviet Union's record of the last events prior to V-E Day. Seen thus in close succession, these films offer two sides of the same coin, as it were, and consequently make for an incomparable and historically complete documentary on the debacle of the "New Order."

In general, the Soviet film follows a somewhat different pattern of exposition than does the Anglo-American record. Its emphasis is on the actual warfare and on the feeling of speed that dominates a Red Army anxious to bring to an end four years of bloody war.

Although the battle *for* Berlin began with Stalingrad, the battle *of* Berlin begins in the film when the Soviet armies reach the Oder. There is a pause for final preparations, and at this point the "industrial" phase of warfare is most manifest. Bridges are built to the west bank of the river. Tons of petroleum are brought up in pipelines and stored for the big push. Trucks are collected, tanks, planes and guns tuned up, tracks constructed through the forests leading to the river. Then on an early morning, late in March, the guns open up. The massed and awesome might of the largest military barrage in history reduces the defense plans of the Nazi generals to a shambles. The infantry moves forward, and never stops thereafter until the battle is over. On the shells of the fieldpieces is marked in Russian "to the Reichstag," and the men are determined to follow the flaming metal as fast as possible. As Commentator William Gailmor says, "they know that somewhere in the stone heart of the city is the end to it all."

While this note of speed gives certain obvious advantages to the atmosphere of the film, it makes, in a larger sense, for certain regrettable defects. It prevents the cameraman from exploring the byways of battle, with the human touches for which previous Soviet documentaries have been famous. Only in the last part of the film, after the city has fallen and there is time for pause and discovery, do some of these touches appear. For myself, I missed, in this most dramatic battle of the war, the presence of the common fighter, the stench and agony of war that was so successfully captured in such films as *Stalingrad: the City That Stopped Hitler*, *San Pietro*, and *Okinawa;* I was somewhat disappointed in the omission of the various women's services that contributed so much to the fighting; the girls directing traffic, the nurses, the women in transportation, communication and other departments feeding the front lines.

This is not to say that *Fall of Berlin* is lacking in excitement. There are many shots that are loaded with drama, as when the Russian soldiers storm up the steps of the Reichstag and plant the red flag under the haughty and riddled statue of Germania. Perhaps the best sections of the film are those which reveal the complete defeat of the Germans, a people living without light, water, food, clothes. Gone is the arrogance of a population that once bedecked itself in clothes stolen from the other peoples of Europe. The camera catches an old woman in broken shoes and tattered coat shuffling through the rubble as a symbol of what Hitler really brought to Germany. And in place of the battening followers of the overriding Wehrmacht, we get a shot of Berliners carving up a dead horse for what is probably their first meat in many a day.

The film makes exceptionally clever use of captured German films, cutting them into the picture in such a way as to make the most effective comment. Thus the outstretched heiling hands of the military-drunk-Berliners dissolve into a shot of the same hands begging the Red Army for bread; swastika flags hung from windows during one of the Nazi celebrations are transformed into white flags of surrender; the burning Reichstag, set aflame by the pounding Russian artillery, recalls the burning torches of a nocturnal Hitler ritual and military procession; a haughty military detail goose-stepping its way through the Brandenburg Gate is now a bedraggled column of prisoners shuffling through the same portal. The gate itself, a former symbol of military glory, is now the shattered sentinel of a broken down, rubble-strewn boulevard.

The end of the film properly epitomizes the fall of the Nazi capital with a closeup of the broken body of Goebbels, surrounded by the litter of the silenced propaganda department, and conversely, by the happy Soviet citizens who watch the Moscow skies light up with brilliant fireworks displays and hear the thunderous salvos in a final salute to victory.

"BACK TO BATAAN," which pays tribute to the Resistance movement of the Filipino people, is important mostly because of its timeliness. As the foreword proclaims, many American lives were saved by the heroic native underground. Yet, despite this reminder, members of the Filipino underground are being thrown into jail today, under the suzerainty of the American army of occupation.

While *Back to Bataan* is one of the few films that recognize the struggle for liberty that has agitated the Philippine nation from the days of Spanish rule to the present, it has many serious defects. To begin with, the record of American imperialism is so soft-soaped that it is even made to appear attractive. When one of the schoolboys, remembering some of the island's history, hints at the undying resistance of his people against the brutality of the Americans who took over from the Spanish, he gets smacked down by a horrified American schoolteacher. It turns out that the boy was referring to a prizefight between an American and a Filipino, so he is taken back into the bosom of the teacher, and his schoolmates laugh with great relief. This kind of editing of history is no help, except to the enemies of decency, as witness the current treatment of the islands' patriots.

This evasion of historical honesty is probably not the fault of writers Barzman and Landau, since they would probably never be able to get away with anything as strong as a true picture of our early colonial policy. But what *may*

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be their fault is the inept handling of the Resistance theme. The action of the film is based in Leyte, where the Resistance movement was well organized, and Communist-led. The members of this movement were politically informed, knew what they were fighting for, and didn't need a less-informed American sailor to give them the score. Yet the guerrilla leader in *Back to Bataan* is only interested in the fight as a means of keeping in touch with his girl friend who is working among the Japanese. When a number of Filipino fighters want to know why they should continue the struggle against the well-armed Japanese army after it had defeated a professional American Army, the answer is dreamed up around the softly whispered name of an old-time patriot. The audience never got to know why, nor did the Filipinos. But luckily for our side, in real life the Filipinos had other sources of information.

But one thing the audience did know was that the Filipinos were in there pitching all the time. Thus, despite its comic-strip treatment, the film presents a robustly attractive theme. The direction of Edward Dymtryk gives the work considerable lift. The ambush of Balintawak, site of the phony Japanese declaration of Philippine liberty, and the rendezvous of an American submarine with hundreds of islanders as a preparation for the Americans' return to Leyte are both handled with such skill as to make them the best things in the film.

Two films that you might not get to see, because of the threatened motion picture projectionists strike, are *Mildred Pierce* at the Strand, and *Her Highness and the Bellboy* at the Capitol. Should this come about, I would hardly count missing them among life's more serious tragedies. *Highness and the Bellboy* makes a feeble attempt to spoof royalty (MGM may next make a film kidding feudal customs) but its main desire is to show that a poor American girl has it all over a rich queen-to-be when it comes to attractiveness. Its characters are a bellboy direct from the slums, who snivels all over the hand of the princess and falls over the furniture every time she smiles at him; an American newspaper columnist who spends his days and nights in a saloon, typewriter and all; an assortment of bowing hotel employes; a bunch of dukes, counts, secretaries, and other such in the retinue of the princess, who come with monocles, uniforms, and such airs as are necessary to turn a dance in a modern American hotel into a scene rivalling in hauteur and snobbery anything that was ever pulled off in the days of "old Vienna." The reason all this slop is served an American public in the middle of the twentieth century, ostensibly, is to permit the princess to fall in love with the newspaperman. If a bellboy can renounce a throne, she says (the bellboy tells her earlier that he prefers someone else), then so can she. In the light of the moth-eaten future that faces Europe's diminishing royalty, this is hardly the sacrifice the picture would have you believe it is.

When James M. Cain decides to be phony, which is fairly often, he yields to no one. For proof there is *Mildred Pierce*. Warners had great success with *Double Indemnity*, an out-of-print book by the same author. When this studio discovered that *Mildred Pierce* was also out of print, the coincidence was probably too great to resist.

As a story dealing with murder, it is diffuse, tenuous, and completely lacking in any of the qualities that made *Double Indemnity* a first-rate film. As a psychological study of the relationship between a self-sacrificing mother and an evil, selfish, wilful daughter, it is a joke. All the characters except the mother are unbelievable compendia of evil—malevolent, scheming monsters Even when they don't start out that way, they get to be such as the film goes along, whether such development

Rabbit Into Fox

Mr. Frank Fay, the companion of the ineffable rabbit in the current Broadway hit, *Harvey*, apparently keeps other company not so charming or so whimsical in his hours off the boards. At least the little chat he had with the Hearst reporters one day last week which blossomed into ugly type in the New York *Journal-American* the following day would indicate as much. Mr. Fay savagely attacked five of his fellow members of Actors Equity for appearing at a Madison Square Garden benefit for Spanish refugee relief and called for their investigation by the association. Who started this exchange—the reporters (who also were neatly on the track of certain housewives several days later, also circulating petitions about the five) or Mr. Fay—doesn't particularly matter at this juncture. The point was that Mr. Fay delivered a blistering denunciation of actors Margo, Luba Malina, David Brooks, Jean Darling and Sono Osato for appearing in behalf of now destitute defenders of Loyalist Spain who were giving all they had to the cause of democracy while Hearst and Co. were spilling gallons of ink in the cause of Franco.

Mr. Fay dressed his charges in sanctimonious concern for freedom of religion. Harold Laski had addressed the meeting by radio from London and had at one point referred to the Church's pro-monarchist stand in Spain as a result of its "rich monopolist" interests. Ergo the meeting was an attack upon the Catholic Church, ergo the actors were supporting such an attack. (Also, ergo the housewives' righteous petitions against the five and the meeting as "stirring public feeling" against a religious group.)

It is not too late for the Hitler cry of "Red!" but it is too late for such vicious nonsense to intimidate decent people. And Actors Equity promptly took the case of Mr. Fay in hand. Even though he is himself a member of Equity's council, the council not only refused to investigate the five according to Mr. Fay's demands, but issued a statement of censure of Mr. Fay for resorting to the press to discuss the actions of fellow members instead of bringing grievances properly within the union. It demanded that Mr. Fay himself stand trial October 16 on charges of "conduct prejudicial to the welfare of Actors Equity and its membership," with the possible penalty of censure, suspension or expulsion. Actors Equity deserves full support in its forthright action in countering an attack so fundamentally inimical to its interests and the interests of the rest of us as well.

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is plausible or not. I have a hunch that the main reason this story was chosen was to afford Joan Crawford an opportunity for a thorough workout.

On Broadway

THERE are two curses that hang over the writer, especially the writer of plays. The first is the curse of insignificance which descends when he loses himself so utterly in his characters as to forget their symbolic meaning, and the second is the curse of symbolism which besets him when he becomes so preoccupied with the moral value of his people as to lose his grasp upon their individual characteristics.

It is the second curse that has brought Tennessee Williams to a fall in his play *You Touched Me!* which he wrote with Donald Windham. Based on a short story by D. H. Lawrence, it purports to show the conflict between those who deny and fear life and those who live and love it. Involved are a sea captain who lost his ship when he got drunk on duty; his spinster sister, who fears nothing except change and nature itself; and the captain's daughter, who is to be rescued from virginity by an orphaned young man adopted by the captain some five years previously.

Vague is the word for both the writing and the motivations of the characters. While the spinster wants to preserve the young girl from the depredations of the male, the male himself, in the person of Montgomery Clift, is made to deliver such airy generalizations that one wonders how the young lady can understand him at all. One thing alone is sure—he wants to marry her; the spinster won't allow it, and the captain is all for it. Between these points of conflict lie arid scenes of farce, drawing room comedy, and shaky drama. The sensuous quality of Lawrence's story is absent, and in its place an air of studied sexuality which gives off a final impression of impotence. The whole play is done in the neuter gender, as it were, and lacks completely the inner thrust, the consolidated drive of *The Glass Menagerie*, whose people, with hardly a word of generalization, are truly symbolic in their actions. It is somewhat surprising to find so little mood in a play by Williams, and one suspects that this one has been rewritten to smithereens, so disjointed is its pattern.

As for the performances, Edmund Gwenn as the sea captain is his old forceful self, although the spottiness of his part forces him to play directly to the audience at times, and to foolish effect. Catherine Willard, the spinster, is an actress with immense powers of concentration, but without details of character she is hard put to improvise a whole woman. Marianne Stewart, the girl involved, has nothing unusual to do and tends to grab onto her left wrist to indicate emotion. This is because she is only called upon to be symbolically emotional, her character being bereft of facets. Montgomery Clift ought to be warned to snap out of *The Searching Wind* manner. The streak of self-pity in him must soon be tempered by the straightforward emotions of manly power lest his fragile manner become a stereotype, and somewhat annoying.

MATT WAYNE.

New Masses Spotlight

(*Continued from page* 19)

mittee reopen consideration of the tax bill at public hearings expresses the interest of the vast majority of Americans and deserves energetic support.

Here and There

PATTON's removal was merely the bursting of the most explosive bubble in the mess of the American occupation. Correspondents are alarmed and unanimous over the actual nazification of our GI's, as replacement trops are thrown into contact with smoth-talking Germans, frauleins and herren, without preparation and without counter-education.

● The latest contribution to international morality in general, and American Soviet relations in particular, by the fascist New York *Daily News* is its editorial proposal that American spies be planted in Russia to get "information needed by our government for our national safety."

● The Daughters of the American Revolution has again dishonored their ancestors and made anti-Constitution Hall the proper name for their Washington auditorium by barring from it the celebrated Negro artist Hazel Scott. Their previous barring of Marian Anderson proved a boomerang; let progressive action again send the boomerang whirling back.

● Science and good citizenship suffered a loss in the death, last week, of Prof. Walter B. Cannon, who added to his international distinction as a physiologist valuable contributions to good American-Soviet relations.

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